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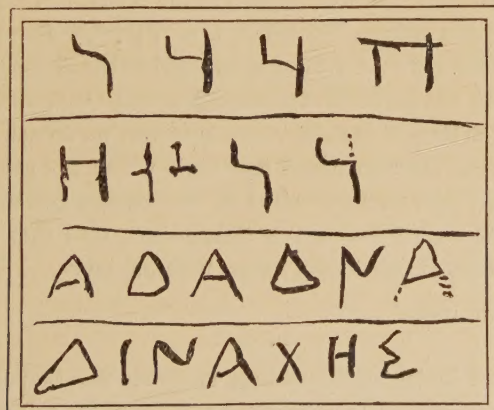
## A SOUTH-BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC-GREEK BILINGUAL.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EBERHARD SCHRADER,

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On page 256 of his work—*Les vrais Arabes et leur pays (Bagdad et les villes ignorées de l'Euphrate)*, Paris : 1884—Monsieur Denis de Rivoyre gives, in connection with a non-Semitic (line 5 : m u - n a - r ū indicates without doubt its character) cuneiform inscription engraved in the old Babylonian characters, but very indistinct, also an inscription in Aramaic and Greek characters, to which I beg leave to invite attention.

This inscription, consisting of four lines, was found by him in one of the temple-walls of Tello, the site of Old-Babylonian ruins well known through the excavations of Monsieur de Sarzec. It is engraved on a brick (burnt-brick), which was found built into the wall and is not the only one of this kind.



The Greek inscription is clear at first glance, and is to be read ΑΔΑΔΝΑΔΙΝ-ΑΧΗΣ, i. e., 'Αδαδναδινάχης, and finally, by the addition of the ending ης, the Grecian

gnesio-Babylonian name: A d a d-n â d i n-a ḥ, i. e., "(God) Hadad gives a brother." The ends of both sides of the A in the third line, in the group N A Δ I N, which are not clearly indicated in the original, I have myself completed. The name in question is formed according to the analogy of others, as e. g. N a b û-n â d i n-a ḥ, etc.

That the other is an *Aramaic* inscription can also be seen at once. With the exception that the first letter to the right in the second line, apparently *Nun*, is to be completed as an Aramaic *Daleth*, this name is also very clear, and is to be read: הדרדנרנאח, i. e. H d d n d n ' ḥ = Hadadnâdinaḥ.

The two inscriptions correspond exactly, and contain *one* and the *same* proper name. It is customarily the rule in the rendering of Aramaic, e. g., Palmyrenean, names into Greek, that the Greek ending *ης* corresponds to the emphatic **נ**, e. g., שלמא = Σαλμας (and again βουλευτής = בילוטא); in this case an **נ** is not expressed. We meet, however, with ורר = Ουρορῶδης, so that no real objection can be offered in this case.

The foregoing Aramaic characters, in many respects, resemble the Egyptian-Aramaic characters of the third to first century B. C. This corresponds satisfactorily to the age which one would naturally conjecture. As the brick was built into the wall—and a temple-wall at that—one would expect to find, in the bearer of this name, a public person, a monarch perhaps, who (under the supremacy of a mightier ruler(?)) had command of a particular regiment, drafted in some way or other.

The name itself is of especial interest as, on the one hand, it is purely Babylonian in its structure, and, on the other hand, it contains the name of a god, which is certainly not a gnesio-Babylonian, but rather a purely Aramaic name. It, as well as its character, was long known to the Assyrians. Already Ašurbanipal knew of a Syrian prince, Bir-dadda, i. e. בר-הדר Bar-hadad, and, in a variant, represents the god as AN.IM. i. e., as "god of the atmosphere," especially of the heaven. (Cf. the author's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, (1878) pp. 538, 539). In the time of the *Assyrians*, however, we do not know (at least at present) of any purely Assyrian proper name into which the name of this foreign god enters. Not till later does the cultus of this Syrian god appear to have become so thoroughly settled among the *Babylonians*, that they did not hesitate to compound new formed Babylonian names with the same.

Berlin, May 4th, 1885.

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P. S.—Professor *Euting*, of Strassburg, writes me that he judges the Aramaic characters of the inscription "to correspond to those of the beginning of the third, perhaps even of the end of the fourth century B. C. (310–250 B. C.)."

Berlin, May 8th, 1885.



## POSTSCRIPT.

On the 30th of May, Professor *Euting* wrote me from Strassburg that in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, Paris, 1884, p. 201 (Proceedings of June 13, '84)—I myself have not as yet seen these proceedings—he read the following report :

“M. de Vogüé fait une communication sur des briques qui ont été trouvées à Tello, en Chaldée, par M. de Sarzec. Ces briques sont marquées d'une estampille uniforme qui donne, en caractères araméens, puis en caractères grecs du second ou du premier siècle avant notre ère, un même nom propre sémitique : *Hadadnadinakhi*. C'est probablement le nom d'un roi de la basse Chaldée.”

According to this, the priority of reading this Aramaic name belongs to M. de Vogüé. I have only the following remarks : (1) in the copy of the estampille which I have there is no trace of an Aramaic Jod, to which de Vogüé's —*khi* refers, and (2) the name is not “d'origine sémitique,” but rather specifically Assyrian-Babylonish in its structure.

Berlin, June 1st, 1885.

# ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF MÛTNÎNÛ.

BY PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

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A very common epithet of the Assyrian kings is mut(d,t)-nin-nu-u or mu-ut(d,t)-ni-en-nu-u. Cf., e. g., V R. 7, 94 and 95: âti (Hebr. אֲתִי) Ašûr-bân-abla šangû<sup>1</sup> ellu, re'u mu-ut-nin-nu-u me, *Sardanapalus, the pure priest king, the mutninnû chief*. George Smith generally translated this adjective by "powerful," connecting it perhaps with dannu *mighty*. A derivation from danânu, however, is impossible.

Henri Pognon, in the glossary of his valuable book *L'inscription de Bavian*, Paris, 1879, explains mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u<sup>2</sup> as the participle of ut-nin "adresser une prière, être dévot." Utnin, he thinks, is the Aphel of a stem טנן, טנ or טנן; he says, "j'ignore si la première radicale est un ט, un ט, ou un ת." This opinion is also untenable. As I have established in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 58, n. 8, there is no Aphel in Assyrian at all. The Pael and Shaphel serve as causative conjugations.

In the inaugural dissertation of my pupil, Dr. Johannes Flemming, *Die grosse Steinplatten-Inschrift Nebukadnezar's II.* (Göttingen, 1883), utnen is rightly combined with the Hebrew תַּחֲנִן *to seek favor, to supplicate*. Dr. Flemming considers utnen the Imperfect Ifta'al of חֲנַן: "uhtannin," he says, "became-uttannin, uttânin, ûtânin, ûtênin, and then with (an irregular) syncope of the ê in the second syllable, and change of the i in the third to ê (as a sort of compensation), ûtnên. The same syncope of ê occurs in the well known ušziz (for ušeziz) *I placed*."<sup>3</sup>

The weak point in this analysis is the assumption of the syncope of an accented long vowel. Syncope takes place in Assyrian only in the case of an unaccented short vowel after a double consonant or a long or accented vowel; e. g., martu gall (const. \*marrat) = marratu (Hebr. מַרְרָתִי, Job XVI, 13;

<sup>1</sup> Lugal before sangu azag is determinative.

<sup>2</sup> Mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u can be read in Assyrian מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ or מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ, etc. For the confusion of e and i see my SFG. 68. The graphic doubling of a consonant in Assyrian very often indicates only the length of the preceding vowel. Cf. SFG. 68, n. 1, and Prætorius, *Literaturblatt fuer orientalische Philologie*, vol. I., p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Flemming, *l. c.*, p. 31. [Cf. now also Heinrich Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 77. Dr. Zimmern considers utnen an apocopated Iftana'al form of עֲנָה. Utnen, he says, is = utnenâ, ûtênênâ = ûtanênâ = ûtanânâ = u'tananna!—Aug. 12th, 1885.]



מִמְרָרוֹ, Job xx., 25; Arab. مِرَّة mirre, Aram. מִרְרָא and מִרְרָתָא fem. of marru *bitter*; dimtu *tear* = dimmatu, dim'atu<sup>1</sup> (Hebr. דִּמְעָה, Aram. דִּמְעָתָא, Arab. دَمْعَة dam'e); šartu<sup>2</sup> *evil*, fem. of šarru (Arab. شَرٌّ); tâmtu or tâmdu *see*; nûbtu *bee* (Arab. نَوْب nûb, Ethiopic nehb)<sup>3</sup>; râqu (= raḥûqu, Hebr. רָחוֹק), fem. rûqtu *remote*; mâru *child*, fem. mârtu (constr. mârât) *daughter*; šîru (= šahîru, Arab. ظَهْر prominent, fem. šîrtu (constr. šîrat); nîḥu (= nawîḥu) *quiet*, fem. nîḥtu; dîku (= dawîku) *killed*, fem. dîktu; šîmu *price*, fem. šîmtu (constr. šîmat) *fate*; belu *lord*, fem. beltu (construct state belit<sup>4</sup> for belat) *lady*; rešu *chief, prince*, fem. reštu *princess*; nešu *lion*, fem. neštu<sup>5</sup> *lioness*; ûblûni *they brought* = ûbilûni, yaubilûni; ûrdûni *they descended* = ûridûni; iptâlîḥû *they feared* = yaptâlîḥû; iptahîrû *they gathered* = yaptâḥîrû; ittaklu<sup>6</sup> *he trusted* = yantakilu; mugdâšru *strong* = mugdâšîru, mugtâšîru<sup>7</sup> (גִּשְׁר), etc., etc.

But the syncope of a long accented vowel is impossible. Not even in the case of ušeziz has this happened. Ušziz is based on the analogy of the עִי stems, and would, therefore, be more accurately written ušzîz or (with the change of the ש before ז to ל) ulzîz, a form like uštîb, the Shaphel of the Piel from ṭâbu (Impf. iṭîbu) *to be good*.<sup>8</sup> Cf. ušmallî *I filled* (מָלָא); ušrabbî *I enlarged* (רָבִי); ušraddî (רָדָא) *I added*, etc. Ušeziz, on the other hand, is a

<sup>1</sup> For the retrogressive assimilation of the *y* cf. the name of David's brother, שִׁמְעָה, 1 Sam. xvi., 9; xvii., 13, which, as appears from 2 Sam. xiii., 3 and 32, is = שִׁמְעָה. Cf. also SFG. 10, 1. Dimtu *tear* could be derived also from the well-known Assyrian stem דַּמַּם *to weep*, Imperfect idmum. [Cf. for this verb Zimmern, BP. 30.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. šurrâti in dabâb šurrâti.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. I., p. 178, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The *i* in belit is due to the influence of the *e*; cf. rebitu *broad way* = rebatu, رَحْبَة, eklitu *darkness* = eklatu, حَكْلَة; shelibu *fox* = shelabu, ثَعْلَب (SFG. 16, 6); erritu *curse* = erratu, arratu; ezzitu (= ezzatu) fem. of ezzu *mighty*; ellitu = ellatu, fem. ellu *light, pure*; eršîtu (with *y*) *earth* = eršatu, aršatu; eqil = eqal, חֶקֶל, constr. state of eqlu *field*, Aram. חֶקְלָא, Arabic حَقْل, Hebr., with transposition, חֶקֶל, 2 Kgs. ix., 10, 36, 37; epir *dust* = epar, 'apar, constr. of epru = 'apru *dust*, Hebr. עָפָר.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ethiopic forms, like her, fem. hert *good*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Ittakil *he trusted* is not the form اِفْتَعَلَ of وُكِّل (Schrader, KAT. 539), but, as appears from I R. 35, No. 2, l. 12, the form اِنْفَعَلَ of تَكَل, which seems to be = Ethiopic takâla *fixit, stabilivit*. Natkil, *l. c.*, can only be Imperative Niphal, like naplis *look*, etc. Cf. also Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arabic اَجْدَمِع for اَجْتَمِع, Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 169. See also Haupt, *Nimrod-epos*, 12, 39: kî rîmî ugdaššaru elî niše *like a wild bull, he is stronger than (all) men*.

<sup>8</sup> [Cf. my article in Dr. Bezold's ZK. II., 3, p. 272.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]





## SOME PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

BY ISAAC H. HALL, PH. D.

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The intention of this paper is merely to publish the text, with as little comment as possible, of those Phœnician Inscriptions of the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which occur on vases, alabastra and jars. They do not appear in the first two fascicles of Renan's *Corpus*, where are figured most of the Cesnola Phœnician Inscriptions. Not all the figures and renderings in the *Corpus*, however, are correct; and I may present the others in a future article. I give the numbers which the objects now bear in the Museum, together with references to former publications. "*Ward*," refers to the article or note of Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward in *Proceedings of American Oriental Society* at Boston, May, 1874, where six inscriptions are figured, including three of those here given. "*Cesnola*" refers to di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, London and New York, 1878; the numbers here given being those of the representations on his plates.

I may state here that, in my former rendering of the longest Phœnician inscription, published in *HEBRAICA*, vol. I., p. 25, I desire to correct the rendering "my (or his) Lord's servant" to the proper name "'Abdelim," with the bracketed addition "[son of]." The other differences from Renan must stand.

The following are the inscriptions:

XXI. (*Ward*, 6; *Cesnola*, 9.) On terra-cotta vase from tomb at Idalium. Letters painted before baking, clear, but baffling all former efforts to read. I read

רגמן

and render it either as a proper name, "Regman," or "Regmon," or as the inscription "My Friend" or "Our Friend."

XXII. (*Cesnola*, 25.) Incised on an alabastron about a foot high, and from four to five inches in diameter, with a cover like a small modern butter-plate. Found in a tomb at Citium.

כלשי 100

The numeral is 100. The word is not extant in Phœnician, so far as I know, except upon another Cesnola object (see No. XXVIII. below), and its meaning I conjecture, from Syriac and Arabic analogy, as "My (or, his) ashes," or "My (or, his) urn."

XXIII. (*Cesnola*, 26.) Incised on a red terra-cotta vase, from a tomb at Citium.

לאנתש

"To Anthos," or "[The property] of Anthos." This Greek word was naturalized in Syriac, in different forms. This inscription was published in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology* as "To (or, of) Antosh."

XXIV. (*Cesnola*, 27.) On the foot of an antique vase of serpentine, purchased in the bazar at Nicosia. The last character may be ה instead of י, but I think not.

ח ח י

If not a proper name, it is probably an epithet, or term of endearment. I conjecture "My thorn-bush," or perhaps "My chain."

XXV. (*Ward*, 5; *Cesnola*, 8.) A jar (πίθος) of red earthenware, from a tomb at Palæo-Paphos. Letters painted before baking. The fourth character in the first line is uncertain.

ב ע ל פ ל ס

י ת ן

ש מ ע י

"Ba'al-Peles (Lord of weight (?)) gave. He heard me (or, him)."

XXVI. (*Ward*, 4; *Cesnola*, 7.) On a jar of red pottery, like the last, from a tomb at Citium. Letters painted before baking.

ב ע ל י

"Ba'ali." Perhaps a form of the deity's name, or else the name with the pronominal suffix of the first or third person.

XXVII. (*Cesnola*, 29.) In all respects like the last two. From a tomb at Citium.

ב ע ל י ז ת

Very doubtful, as the fourth character may be ן instead of י, which would change the whole meaning. As it is here given, it may mean "My (or, his) Lord of the olive."

With regard to the last three inscriptions, I am not blind to the other meanings that suggest themselves; but I find nothing to decide the question. One fragment of a similar πίθος had a long inscription of about thirty letters, painted around the sloping top, of which nothing is now decipherable but the word בעל. If that inscription were legible, it might furnish a clue to these legible shorter ones. They may only refer to a merchant, or superintendent, instead of a divinity; a supposition which has its base in the fact that they are on common πίθοι, which were doubtless put into the tomb with provisions for the departed. It is reasonable to expect that more of these jars will be found by excavators in Cyprus.

XXVIII. (*Schröder*, 22 (?), in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264-272.) On a πίθος like the last four, except that it has ears, or handles. From a tomb at Citium.

כ ל ש

See No. XXII., above.



## THE USE OF עֵבֶר AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN THE HEXATEUCH.

BY PROFESSOR E. C. BISSELL, D. D.,

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More than two centuries ago a French critic of the Old Testament alleged that, among other things, the peculiar use of עֵבֶר in the Pentateuch (Deut. i., 1) showed that Moses could not have been its author. It indicated rather as author some one already settled in Canaan. This statement of Peyrère<sup>1</sup> was taken up by others and has come to have the force of a stock argument on that side of the question.<sup>2</sup> We are fully justified, therefore, in making a brief inquiry into the actual use of עֵבֶר, with its compounds (ב, מ, ל), as found in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, usually associated with it by critics.

As its verbal root would suggest, the noun עֵבֶר may mean (1) *what is beyond, the other side of* something; or (2) *what is over against, opposite*. In the former case a limit of some sort is not only implied, but made prominent; in the latter, the relative position of two things as being simply opposite to one another is the thing emphasized. Moreover, in the former instance, the limit, be it a river or whatever it may, may be in the mind to such an extent that it will itself serve as the point of view of the writer or speaker rather than the one or the other side of it, and so, in perfect harmony with the etymology of the word, עֵבֶר be employed to mark *the transit* itself across the limit, whether in one direction or the other. A third and more derived meaning of the noun עֵבֶר is *shore, border*, that is, of a river, like the Latin *ora, ripa*. It is found not infrequently in this sense in the Bible.

We see, accordingly, that עֵבֶר is a very flexible word and, by itself, an exceedingly vague one. It is simply an auxiliary in conveying thought, and needs to have something added to it in order to carry a clear sense to the mind. And we shall be struck by nothing more forcibly, I think, in our examination of its use in the Hexateuch, than by the fact that the writer, as if conscious of the peculiar vagueness of the word, takes especial pains to show how to use it.

In Genesis the expression is twice found (בְּעֵבֶר, L., 10, 11) and both times in the same sense. Of the funeral train that Joseph led up from Egypt to Canaan for the burial of his father it is said, that it halted at the "threshing-floor of Atad which is בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן." Undoubtedly the writer meant to fix the exact spot beyond a peradventure, and for his contemporaries he did so. But we are less fortunate, as we do not know anything about this "threshing-

<sup>1</sup> *Systema Theologicum ex Praeadamitarum Hypothesi* (1655), p. 185 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (N. Y. 1883). I. p. 510.

floor of Atad." Still, the context, which speaks of the "Canaanites" as seeing and remarking upon what took place there, makes it tolerably certain that it was on the west side of the Jordan (cf. Num. xxxv., 14, Josh. xxii., 11).<sup>1</sup> In this case there would be nothing against, but much in favor of, the supposition that the writer was on the east side. To assume, as some do, that the writer's point of view is and must be the west side, is not only to assume what there is no justification for in the text, but involves one in very serious difficulties with it, besides being an assumption of the very point in debate. If **בעבר** does not mean *across, on the opposite side*, in this instance, it must have the third of the meanings given above, *on the shore*, (of the Jordan), and so could not be used by itself for determining the point of view of the writer.

In Exodus **עבר** is used three times (xxv., 37; xxviii., 26; xxxix., 19) and the plural construct of it once (xxxii., 15), but everywhere exclusively in the sense *what is over against, opposite*, as of the lights on the two arms of the golden candlestick, the rings on the corresponding borders of the highpriest's breastplate and the laws on the two tables of stone. These passages, therefore, are of no special use to us in our present inquiry. In Leviticus the expression does not occur.

In Numbers it is found only in the form **מֵעֵבֶר** (xxi., 13; xxii., 1; xxxii., 19 (twice), 32; xxxiv., 15; xxxv., 14) the prefix having the force of marking more definitely the boundary concerning which **עֵבֶר** is predicated. In the first instance the Arnon is that boundary; in all the others it is the Jordan. In *every* instance the context makes clear which side of the respective rivers is meant, but in such a way as not to fix with certainty the point of view of the writer. That **מֵעֵבֶר** is *not* used by him in the technical sense the word subsequently acquired in its Greek form (*τὸ πέραν*) and had in the time of our Lord (*τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), as meaning the district east of the Jordan, is clear, from the fact that he employs it as well of the west as of the east side in the very same verse (xxxii., 19) and *never* uses it of the east side without making it plain from the context, just as in other instances, that he does so. He never assumes, in other words, an acquaintance on the part of his readers with any such supposed settled or technical sense. As it concerns the writer's own point of view, as far as he gives us any hint of it, it is neither the east nor the west side of the Jordan (excepting xxi., 13, where the Arnon is mentioned), but the river itself. And in the use of the very same term (**מֵעֵבֶר**) he finds himself free to turn one way or the other, to say, "across the Jordan eastward," or, "across the Jordan westward," as circumstances may require.

And the same thing is conspicuously true of the Book of Deuteronomy. We find here **עבר** (iv., 49), **בעבר** (i., 1; iii., 8, 20, 25; iv., 41, 46, 47; xi., 30)

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Com.*, *in loco*, declares that **הַכְּנָעֲנִי** cannot be used of the people east of the Jordan.



and **מַעְבֵּר** (xxx., 13), all employed in the same general sense of what is beyond or near a border, and, as in the Book of Numbers, in every case but one that border is the Jordan (xxx., 13). As in Numbers, the expression (**בַּעֲבֵר** here, **מַעְבֵּר** there) emphasizes the border itself rather than one or the other side of it, and in the same context is used indifferently for the east or the west side (iii., 20, 25). And when it is used for the east side, it is accompanied, in each instance, by some description that determines the fact, just as when it means the west side. If the writer were really on the east side of the Jordan, as the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy would naturally lead us to suppose, then it is clear that **בַּעֲבֵר** (like **מַעְבֵּר**) meant for him no more than the Jordan limit, with its shores stretching away on either side. If he was actually on the west side of it, and was trying to create an impression that he was not, but on the opposite side, he has certainly taken a very clumsy way of doing it. As far as the expression he employs is concerned, he effectually effaces not only every sign that he is there, but that he is on either side. He leaves himself floating in the air over the fording-place of the Jordan.

But it might be asked, if the writer was not in fact already in Canaan, would he *so uniformly* in Numbers and Deuteronomy have used **מַעְבֵּר** and **בַּעֲבֵר** of the east side? For an answer to this question let us turn to the Book of Joshua. Here the point of view is changed, at least is assumed to be changed. The people have crossed the Jordan, and occupied the promised land. Two and a half tribes have returned, or will eventually return, to the east side of the river to take possession of the land assigned them there. If the expression we are considering had for Israel during this period any such sense as has been claimed for it, it would certainly have it in this book, and be seen to have it. The words **מַעְבֵּר** and **בַּעֲבֵר**, that is, like the tribes inheriting east of the Jordan, would now come into their rightful possessions also, and be no longer used for mere purposes of mystification.

What is the fact? In the Book of Joshua, too, we find all three forms of the word employed: **עֵבֶר** (xiii., 27),<sup>1</sup> **בַּעֲבֵר** (i., 14, 15; ii., 10; v., 1; vii., 7; ix., 1, 10; xii., 1, 7; xiii., 8; xxii., 4; xxiv., 8), **מַעְבֵּר** (xiii., 32; xiv., 3; xvii., 5; xviii., 7; xx., 8; xxii., 7). It is still understood to have the same kind of vagueness attaching to it as in the other books, and is never left undefined. It is still used likewise of *both sides of the river*, and, what is still more remarkable, it is used here a great deal oftener than in any other book of the *west side*, where people and writer are now assumed to be, and notwithstanding the fact that they are assumed to be there (v., 1; ix., 1; xii., 7; xxii., 7).

To the question, then, Does the comparatively uniform—though not exclusive—use of **בַּעֲבֵר** and **מַעְבֵּר** in Numbers and Deuteronomy for the region

<sup>1</sup> In xxii., 11, it seems to mean "ford" and xxiv., 2, 3, 14, 15 it does not refer to the Jordan.

east of the Jordan tend to show that the assumed point of view of the history and historian, as themselves on the same side, is false?—there can be but one answer. Most assuredly it does not. We find the same usage, indeed, when history and historian are actually transferred to Canaan, but we find it with considerably less uniformity. In other words, where we might expect, were this theory true, an exclusive appropriation and application of the word in one sense, we find it used in that sense even less commonly than before. Whether Moses, therefore, was the responsible author of the Pentateuch or not, no reason to the contrary can fairly be derived from the use of עֵבֶר in it. It is everywhere employed most intelligently and with perfect frankness and consistency.



## THE MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS.\*

Freely translated and adapted from the French of the Abbé J. P. P. MARTIN

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I. When the immortal J. S. Assémani was writing, in the last century, his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, (three parts in four volumes, folio, Rome, 1719–1728), on reaching the chapter which he devoted to Bar-Hebraeus, and coming to describe the great commentary which that author composed on the Holy Scriptures under the title of “*Treasury of Mysteries*,”—the learned Maronite let the following lines fall from his pen: “Versiones denique et auctores quibus in hoc libro utitur, hi sunt. In primis Hebraicus textus, et graeca versio Septuaginta interpretum, passim. . . . Praeterea duae aliae Syriacae, praeter simplicem cui poene inhoeret, versiones identidem cituntur, nimirum Heraclensis et ܟܪܟܦܗܢܝܫܝܬ Karkaphensis, hoc est montana, qua videlicet incolae montium utuntur.”<sup>1</sup>

These words of Assemani gave the hint to the scholars of Europe, who set themselves to searching for the new version that Assemani had pointed out on the authority of Bar-Hebraeus. Though they turned out in force, and ransacked all the mountains of Europe and Asia, and searched every crack and cranny, this “mountain version” remained undiscoverable. It was to reappear at the moment when it was least expected.

The scholars were not willing, nevertheless, to refuse themselves the pleasure of putting forth conjectures. J. David Michaelis took it for the version which the Nestorians used. G. Christian Adler, who undertook his journey to Rome largely in the hope of discovering it, did not meet with it. And yet, he had it under his eyes, perhaps even in his hands, in two libraries,—the Vatican and the Barberini.

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\* [The Abbé Martin printed an essay on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, 6th Series, vol. XIV. Afterwards he issued his book: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, etc., Paris, 1870. The essay which we here translate, presents the matter more succinctly; it is chapter III., Art. II., § VI., pp. 276–296 of the Abbé’s recent work: *Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1882. Although the doctrines set forth in it are now somewhat generally accepted by Syriac scholars, they are little known outside of a comparatively narrow circle. And, as the book from which this section is taken is necessarily a rare one, it is thought that a service will be rendered to American students of Semitic subjects by presenting it to them in an English dress. The translation itself is very free in form and the adaptation includes some considerable omissions. The translator hopes, however, that he has in no case either misrepresented the learned author, or failed to convey his meaning with clearness. He is not, of course, responsible for the correctness of the facts or the validity of the logic; but only for the just transference of the Abbé’s meaning.]

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Assemani, op. cit. vol. II., p. 283.

At the end of his efforts and researches, he thought he could affirm provisionally that the Karkaphensian version was only a manuscript of the Peshito: "Imo haec Carcafensis," he says, "nobis non versio diversa sed codex quidam insignis Vulgata Syriaca versionis fuisse videtur. Quod vel ex iis varietatibus patet quae a Gregorio laudantur."<sup>1</sup>

II. The failure of G. Ch. Adler did not discourage scholars. They still continued to seek the Karkaphensian version, and some are perhaps at this hour still seeking it. They have not found it, for the very simple reason that it does not exist. We can give assurance of this. The Karkaphensian version positively has been discovered. Cardinal Wiseman had the good fortune to put his hand on two MSS. that belong to what has been called the Karkaphensian version. J. S. Assemani had had one of them in his hands; he had even described it in two places in his writings: (1) in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, pp. 499, 500; (2) in his *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum MSS. Catalogus*, vol. III., p. 287; and although the title ought to have attracted his attention, he did not notice that he had in his hands that "Karkaphensian Tradition" of the existence of which Bar-Hebraeus had apprised him.

Nicholas Wiseman, in his *Horae Syriacae*, pp. 149 sq., described the two Roman MSS.; but he did not perhaps throw into sufficient relief the singular and characteristic features of the work which they contained. All the manuscripts of this class bear a title like the following: "Volume of the words and readings of the Old and New Testaments [according to the Karkaphensian tradition]." The words in brackets are wanting in some of the manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

III. Now what is this work, thus brought to our knowledge under the name of "Karkaphensian tradition," or some similar name?

It is easy to answer. It is a Massoretic work. The word which we have translated "tradition" is the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew word *Massora*. The Syrians had a Massora analogous to that of the Jews, contemporary with that of the Jews, and, moreover, like that of the Jews, divided into two currents, the cradle of one of which was the East, in Babylonia, while the other was born and grew up in the West, in Palestine and Syria. We have, in a word, documents which represent two literary traditions or currents. And as the Aramaic is closely like the Hebrew, it goes without saying that the Syriac Massora is, on the whole, much like the Massora of the Jews. It is astonishing that so patent a fact should have so long escaped those who had the Karkaphensian manuscripts in their hands. A simple statement of the contents of these volumes ought, by itself, to have shown them that they had before them, not a new version of the Bible, but (1) a lexicographical and grammatical work; (2) an exegetical work. In drawing up these volumes, which contain sometimes more than 300 leaves, the

<sup>1</sup> *Versiones Syriacae*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See below. Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*. Paris, 1870.



intention was, not to give a new text, but to furnish the means of conserving and using the old texts. The impulse that led the Latin critics of the thirteenth century to draw up *correctoria*, led the Syrian critics of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries to make this compilation, which ought to take its place in history hereafter under the name of **ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ**,—words hard to translate, but the sense of which is easy to recognize in the phrase, “Collection of Biblical words, punctuated and provided with their accents.”

IV. The form of this text may be understood from a view of any page of one of the MSS. which embody it. Take, for instance, manuscript 62 of the Paris National Library, and open at the page that contains the last portion of Mark’s Gospel. From Mark XIV., 72, with which the page begins, to the end of the Gospel, no single verse is given entire. Of the 68 verses contained within these limits, there are given fragments of only 20; and these fragments most frequently consist of only a few words.

No doubt there are places where the verses are less mutilated than in this passage. This is true, for example, of the beginning of these Syrian *correctoria*. One or even two consecutive verses may be found cited entire in Genesis or Exodus; we are not absolutely sure that they are, for we have never verified the fact. In proportion as we advance, however, into the Old and into the New Testaments, the extracts become shorter and more disconnected. The reason for this fact is easy to discover: the object which the Syrian Massorites set before themselves being to guide in the syllabication and rhythmical reading of the text, they did not repeat the words every time they occurred, but, after giving them a few times, assumed that they would be well known to their readers. This is why, in the analyses they make of this same passage of Mark, according to the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version, they do not give more than some fifteen words.

“Brother,” says the copyist of one of these collections of which we are speaking, to his readers, “do not trouble yourself too quickly, if in glancing through the ‘ch’mohe and q’roiotho’ (punctuated and accented words), collected here with the greatest care, you do not find in certain parts of the later books the ‘ch’mohe and q’roiotho’ that you are seeking. They have been already written before, in the first or last portion of each book. The more difficult ones have been given once, or twice, or even oftener. Take, therefore, the book, read it through, commencing each book at its beginning; continue your reading without fear, and you will discover that I tell the truth. If there are two similar expressions, and you find one of them and not the other, know that they are pronounced alike. I have done as I have said.”<sup>1</sup>

To read such a note as this is enough to inform us what kind of a work we have in hand. The Massoretic text is not continuous and it is not the same in all

<sup>1</sup> Additional Manuscript 7183, f. 122.

MSS. From this we may learn the nature of the text contained in the Massoretic MSS. It follows that if a passage is not cited in them, we are by no means justified in concluding that this passage was not authentic in the eyes of the Syrian Massorites, because it is their habit sometimes to pass over several successive verses without drawing a single word from them.

V. It is important to observe, moreover, that all the MSS. do not contain the same passages, or the same words in the same passages. We have verified the fact in a number of passages, and have elsewhere given Matthew I., 18—II., 4a, as it is extracted in four MSS.<sup>1</sup> A single glance at the differences there manifest to all will make the conclusions, which such a comparison demands, very plain. Each MS., or nearly every one, is the work of an author or of a school: of one of those scholars who, from the seventh to the eighth centuries devoted their efforts and lives to the clearing up of all the difficulties of the Scriptures, or of one of those societies of “maq’r’yâne,” the mission of which was to conserve the good traditions of reading and pronunciation. This is in harmony with the language which we have quoted from the copyist of the Additional MS. 7183.

VI. We ought not, therefore, to seek for a version in these books, but something very different. This is so true, that not only is the Peshito analyzed in them, but also the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version. Yet, it is worth noticing, that the “ch’mohe and q’roiotho” of the latter figure only in the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, while the Nestorian collections (MS. Add. 12138) contain only the analysis of the Peshito.

VII. Among the numerous remarks that might be made with reference to these volumes, we content ourselves with the four following:—(1) The New Testament is divided thus:—*a.* Acts and Catholic Epistles; *b.* Epistles of Paul; *c.* Gospels, in the usual order. This division is adopted in the analysis of both the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian. (2) The version of Thomas of Harkel contained, therefore, the Acts and Epistles. (3) In the Peshito only three catholic Epistles are analyzed. The fact is less clear in the Philoxeno-Heraclensian, because the Catholic Epistles are analyzed together, and a long search is necessary to find to which Epistle the words cited belong. (4) There are no “ch’mohe” of the Apocalypse given in either case. It would seem, then, that neither the Nestorians nor the Jacobites accepted the Apocalypse in the ninth and tenth centuries as authentic or canonical.

VIII. In the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, in the same fashion as the Bible, only somewhat more briefly, the works of the Greek Fathers translated into Syriac have been analyzed,—especially those the translation of which was due to James of Edessa, to-wit:—(1) the works attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite—three treatises and the letters; (2) the works of St. Basil—twenty-nine homilies; (3) of St. Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Nazi-

<sup>1</sup> *La Massore chez les Syriens. Pieces Justificatives. Tableau III.*



anza—forty-seven homilies in two parts; (4) the letters of St. Basil and St. Gregory the Theologian; (5) the λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι of Severus of Antioch—125 homilies divided into three parts, as in the version of them made by James of Edessa about 700–701, A. D.<sup>1</sup>

IX. To these analyses, made from the point of view of the pronunciation and punctuation, the following documents are adjoined: (1) the letter of James of Edessa to George of Sarug and to the “scribes who read this book;” (2) a treatise by James of Edessa on punctuation and accentuation; (3) a treatise, apparently by a deacon named Thomas; (4) the names of the Greek points according to St. Epiphanius; (5) divers other little grammatical treatises; (6) enumeration of the στίχοι and ῥήματα contained in the Holy Scriptures. For the Old Testament, the στίχοι are enumerated for the whole and also book by book; but for the New Testament they are enumerated simply for the whole. Moreover, it does not appear that the Nestorian Massora contains this enumeration. (7) Lastly, at the end of all these documents, come very short lives of the prophets, apostles, and disciples, largely taken from St. Epiphanius, and perhaps also from Eusebius.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, also, the last leaves of these *collectanea* contain treatises on *vocabus aequivocis*, or tables of words written alike in their consonants, but pronounced differently.

This, then, is the contents of these voluminous collections, subject to variations of the codices. MS. 62 (formerly 142) of the National Library of Paris has furnished the description above.

X. It is astonishing, we repeat, that such an assemblage of documents has not long ago caused the true nature of the work contained in the Karkaphensian or other ܡܨܘܪܐ ܕܡܨܘܪܐ to be recognized. The grouping together of so disparate a collection of pieces ought to have opened the eyes of the blind. Yet neither Andrew Scandar nor Assemani understood the character of these collections. They mentioned, in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and the *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus*, the work of which we are speaking, under the title of “Onomasicon Jacobi Edesseni”! Cardinal Wiseman caught but half a glimpse of the truth. Rosen and Forschall<sup>3</sup> advanced no further than Wiseman: they still translated the title ܡܨܘܪܐ ܕܡܨܘܪܐ, secundum *VERSIONEM* Karkaphensem! But no one has passed on this erroneous road beyond the old catalogue of the Paris National Library, which classified a collection of this kind among the “HISTORIAE SCRIPTORES!” This is not the first time that librarians have taken a missal for a treatise on astronomy. Very likely it will not be the last.

<sup>1</sup> This date is reached by means of MSS. in the Vatican Library. (J. S. Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. I., pp. 494, 570).

<sup>2</sup> *Patrol. Graec.* XXII. col. 1261–1271 c.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*. London, 1838. Folio. Pars I. *Codices Syriacos et Carshunicos amplectens*, pp. 34–71.

XI. Of the collections of which we are speaking, only two of those which represent the Massora of the Western Syrians contain in the title the words מִסְכָּרְפִּי מִסְכָּרְפִּי, to wit, the Additional Manuscript 7183 of the British Museum, and the MS. 152 of the Vatican library; but all are drawn up on the same plan and are so much alike that a single glance will determine them all to belong to one family.

XII. It is scarcely to be doubted that the school of philologists and grammarians, called "Karkaphensian Tradition," drew its name from the convent of "Kar'kaph'tho," in the neighborhood of Amid, not far from the great Syrian monastery of Karthamin, in the region of Upper Mesopotamia, which, on account of its numerous convents, received, in the history of the Middle Ages, the name of Tûr-'Abdîn, or "Mountain of the Servants [of God],"—a name which it still bears to-day.<sup>1</sup> This school represented the grammatical and philological traditions of the Western Syrians.<sup>2</sup>

XIII. Who founded the Syrian Massora? A positive answer is difficult. No doubt the origines of the studies the results of which are collected in the volumes of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mount up to the fourth or fifth centuries. Few proper names, however, are found in these MSS., that are certainly of the fifth century. Perhaps the "Deacon Thomas" who wrote the treatise on punctuation and accentuation inserted in these collections, may be identified with that Thomas of Edessa, who was connected with the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Abdas I., called "the Great" (538-552). The Massora seems to have been born in Babylonia, and to have been early developed there. Thence it passed to the West, where it made much progress, but in a somewhat altered direction. It is evident that James of Edessa gave a strong impulse to this kind of study. The place of honor given to his letter to George of Sarûg, to his treatise on punctuation and accentuation, and to his translations from Greek writers proves this past doubt. It is perhaps for this reason that the ܡܫܟܝܢܐ of his Highness Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, bears, at the end of the title, this addition: "Works of Mar James of Edessa;"—not, beyond question, because the collection, such as we have it, was composed by James of Edessa, but in the sense that this great writer was the most illustrious popularizer of labors of this kind, the real founder of a Hellenistic and Græcizing school.<sup>3</sup> It is enough, moreover, to read the letter of James of Edessa and to observe the rôle it plays in the Massoretic collections in order to perceive at once the conclusion to which all the facts point: "Let no one omit a letter from," says James of Edessa to the copyists, "and let no one add a letter to these Greek

<sup>1</sup> On all these questions see Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, Paris, 1870. Pp. 123-130.

<sup>2</sup> Bar Hebraeus clearly identifies the Karkaphensian tradition with the Western Syrians.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1872. Vol. II., pp. 247-256, and cf. Martin: *Syriens Orientaux et Occidentaux*. Paris, 1873.

and Hebrew words :”—giving a considerable list. There is no doubt, then, but that James of Edessa was the great promoter of the Hellenizing movement which was wrought out in the bosom of the Monophysite portion of the Syrian race in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries of our era. Bar-Hebraeus even attributes to him some ܬܩܘܠܬܐ ܕܩܪܦܗܝܢܐ like those of the Karkaphensian school; but it is probable that he means by this the Karkaphensian collections, of which we may perhaps regard James of Edessa as the principal author.

It is from the translations of St. Basil, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, especially of Severus of Antioch, made by James of Edessa, that the Syrians obtained that terminology and barbarous orthography which disfigure the MSS. of the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It was James of Edessa, also, who enriched the Syrian tongue with some very curious words. It need not be added that the disciples, as always happens, outdid the master. It was a blessing that the Syrian words, properly so called, were in great part saved from these innovations, or the Aramaic language might have suffered a true disaster.

And let no one think that it was only a single Massorite who gave himself to this eccentricity. All yielded to the fashion; no one was able to withstand the Græcizing invasion. Only the Nestorian Massora remained almost entirely sheltered from this flood; but we do not fear to judge unjustly, when we say that it owed this less to good sense than to the circumstances of the times, and especially to the places where it lived.

XIV. The description which we have given of these collections of the Syrian Massora, suffices of itself to teach us the use that may be made of them, and the advantages we may hope to reap from their study. (1) We are not to expect to find a new version in them,—whether a “mountain version,” or any other kind. They contain nothing of this sort; and he will be sorely deceived who approaches their study with such a preconception. (2) We are not even to expect to find exegesis in them; for above all things, these works are, like the Jewish Massora, grammatical or philological. (3) What we may expect to find in them is the tradition of the proper pronunciation, and of a correct punctuation and accentuation. They are the Syrian counterpart of what the Jews called the “Manual for the reader,” or a “Master of the reader.” Indeed, the title that is given to these collections in the most ancient<sup>1</sup> MS. that has come down to us, containing the Nestorian Massora, is just this. On folio 309*b*. at the head of a treatise on punctuation and accentuation, we read the following title: “We are still writing, by God’s grace, the signs of the punctuation, of the ‘Books of the Maq’r’yânâ.’” The Maq’r’yânâ is, properly speaking, that which teaches to read. In the Indo-Germanic languages this is a comparatively easy thing to do. But in the Semitic languages, where only the consonants are written, it is not an easy task to teach,

<sup>1</sup> The date is 899 A. D.



or to learn, how to read a text, and to read it correctly. This accounts for the important rôle of the Maq'r'yânâ. We have in it, therefore, an important work that ought to be seriously studied; but which ought to be studied entirely from the point of view of Syriac phonology and lexicography.

XV. Is no profit to be obtained from it, then, for the study of Holy Scripture? Such a conclusion would be thoroughly mistaken. Just as the Hebrew Massora has rendered and will render great service to those who study the Old Testament; so the Syrian Massora can very greatly aid those who wish to study the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian versions of the Bible.

a. When we are trying to determine the canon of the Old and of the New Testaments, for example, one of the best sources of information that we can consult, is certainly the Massoretic collection; we have in these Massoretic volumes, not indeed a witness that is definitive, supreme and complete, but at least the witness of one of the most intelligent parts of two fractions of the Syrian race,—the Jacobite and Nestorian fractions; the witness of learned men who had often examined the sacred text minutely and scrupulously; who determined its reading, fixed its punctuation, marked its divisions, and collected all its lexicographical and grammatical peculiarities; and who did all this, not arbitrarily, but under the inspiration of their language, their church and their race. Such a witness as this, every body will understand, has great value.

b. Likewise, if our business is the determination of a reading in a given place, these Massoretic writings can render important service, if they contain the passage. Their testimony helps to control that of the Peshito or of the Philoxenian, the text of which they analyze and punctuate. Moreover, when we combine the separate MSS. of this family, we may find that we can reconstruct from them the whole text, since the fragments which are not in one ܡܫܠܐ, may be in another.

XVI. These Massoretic manuscripts contain many marginal notes, but all have reference to points of grammar or lexicography.<sup>1</sup> No one of these notes, for example, makes any allusion to the additions to the text, found in the Curetonian version.

XVII. There are known about a dozen MSS. of the Syrian Massora. Of these, there are two at Rome,—one in the Vatican, No. 152 (of about the year 950), and one in the Barberini library, VI. 62, formerly 101 (1093). The National library at Paris has one,—No. 62, formerly 142, (tenth to eleventh century). Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, owned one, dated about 1015,<sup>2</sup> and probably has it yet. All the others are at London, to wit:—as representatives of the Jacobite Massora, the Additional MSS. 7183 (twelfth century); 12178 (tenth to eleventh century); 14482 (eleventh to twelfth century);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Martin: *La Massore*, &c. *Pieces Justificatives*.

<sup>2</sup> This MS. is now in the Library of the Cathedral Church of the Syrians at Mosul.

14667, f. 1-22 (tenth century); 17162, f. 1-14 (tenth to eleventh century); 14684, f. 1-117 (twelfth to thirteenth century). A single MS. represents the Nestorian Massora, to wit, the Additional MS. 12138, which belongs to the year 899. Total: one MS. of the ninth century, one of the tenth, two of the eleventh, four of the tenth to the eleventh, three of the twelfth; in all eleven Massoretic collections, of which two are at Rome, one at Paris, seven at London and one at Damascus or Mosul.<sup>1</sup>

This then is what we had to say about the pretended Karkaphensian version, which is not a version, not even a recension in the proper sense of the word. If it is to be classed with any works made in the West, it must be put with the family of *Correctoria*, rather than with any other category of MSS. whatever.

XVIII. Before closing, we may pause long enough to say a word as to certain other Syrian versions that have from time to time been brought into discussion. After having examined carefully the passages of the authors on the authority of whom the existence of these has been affirmed, we are constrained to believe that in some of the cases the sense of the word has been misunderstood. There are in all languages, in Aramaic as well as the rest, some general expressions, the precise sense of which is determined only by the context and analogy. It is the duty of critics to allow weight to the circumstances which determine the sense of such a word in each passage. We have already seen them allowing themselves to be led into error by the word ܡܫܠܬܐ, the proper and rigorous signification of which is "Tradition," "Massora," but which is very often taken as "Version." The word generally used in Aramaic to designate a version is ܡܫܬܬܠܐ, although, to speak rigorously, this term rather signifies the "edition" of a book. There is also another term which has been the cause of much confusion; this is the word ܡܫܬܠܐ, "to comment," "explain," "interpret." The sense of "to translate" has often been given to this word; and thus commentaries have often been transformed into versions. Many writers of merit bear in literary history the name of ܡܫܬܠܐ, "commentators," "interpreters." Such, for example, are Paul of Callinicum (about 578), James of Edessa (+709-710), etc.; but no one seems to have received this name for having made versions of Sacred Scripture. James of Edessa deserved his title much more for the Greek writers whom he translated, than for his recension of Holy Scripture.

There is, nevertheless, a collection of texts that raise the suspicion that the Nestorians had a version made from the LXX., and that a century (or nearly that) before the Monophysites possessed theirs.

Of all the men who have ever lived,\* few seem to have had a more singular destiny than the Catholicus of the Nestorians, Mar Abbas, called the Great (538-552). Born in paganism, and brought up in the mysteries of Magism, he raised

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*; Wiseman: *Horae Syriacae*; W. Wright: *Catalogus*, vol. I., pp. 101-115.

himself by his strength of will, the force of his character, and the superiority of his talents, to the highest dignities of his sect and the most envied honors of his nation. What a curious history is this, of this Magian, becoming Christian, learning Aramean in the school of Nisibis, emigrating to Edessa in order to study Greek and literature, pushing on as far as Constantinople, some say even to Rome, sojourning at Alexandria for the completing of his exegetical labors, at last returning to his native land, there attaining the Catholicate, enjoying the intimacy of the great Khosroes, and at last,—that nothing might be lacking to his strange fate,—dying in disgrace and irons! Singular figure, which some writer of talent should rescue for us from the obscurity which invests it.

Now, a body of documents scarcely permits us to doubt that the Catholicus Mar Abbas translated the Old and New Testaments out of the Greek, in the first quarter of the sixth century, almost at the very time when Philoxenus of Mabug, in the West, was translating the Holy Gospels by the direction of his Chorepiscopus Polycarp (508). Mar Aud-Icho, metropolitan of Nisibis in the fourteenth century (about 1340) is explicit: "Mar Abbas, the Great," he says, "translated (ܩܡܩܡܐ) and explained (ܬܦܠܥܐ) the whole Old Testament from the Greek into Syriac. He commented also on Genesis, the Psalms, the Proverbs,"<sup>1</sup> etc. Ebed-Jesu (or Audicho, as the Nestorians call him) speaks only of a translation of the Old Testament, but other writers fill the lacuna. Bar-Hebraeus, to whom the epithet of "the Great" might be justly given (1226-1286), does not distinguish between the Old and New Testaments: "Mar Abbas," he tells us, "went to Nisibis to learn Syriac letters. Desirous also of learning Greek, he went to Edessa and put himself to school to a teacher named Thomas who knew enough Greek. Then he went with his teacher to Alexandria, and, with his help, translated the Holy Scriptures out of the Greek into Syriac."<sup>2</sup> Lastly, two other Nestorian writers, Maris and Amru-ben-Mathaï (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) are more explicit. They say clearly that Mar Abbas "composed a fine collection of Canons, which bears his name, and that he translated (or explained) the books of the Old and of the New Testaments."<sup>3</sup>

No fragments have come down to us which confirm these statements. We have never met with any other version than the Peshito in the liturgical books of this sect; and no other author known to us has mentioned the fact that we have here brought out. We must remember, however, that the Nestorian literature has almost entirely perished, in the invasions which through fifteen centuries have never ceased to sweep over Babylonia. It is not surprising, then, that this version, if it was made, has perished with so many other books, of the real existence of which there is not the least doubt.

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Assemani, vol. III., pt. I., p. 75. Cf. II., p. 130, col. 1, p. 411 and III., part I., pp. 407-408.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Abbeloos and Lamy, *Greg. Bar-Hebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. II., p. 89-91.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* II. 412.



It has been concluded, likewise, from a passage in the Commentaries of Dionysius Bar-Tsalibi (+1171), citing the *Historia Miscellanea* of Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos,<sup>1</sup> that Maras, bishop of Amid, translated the Gospels from Greek into Syriac. The conclusion does not seem to us, however, included in the premises.

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[So far the Abbé at this place. Elsewhere he admits of course the biblical translations of James of Edessa; and also, on the strength of a passage to be found in Overbeck's *S. Syri Ephraemi aliorumque opera selecta*, p. 172, that Rabbulas, bishop of Edessa up to about 436, translated the New Testament. The passage reads: "And he translated (ܩܠܡܐ) by the wisdom of God that was in him, the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, on account of its variations, accurately according to what it was."]

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<sup>1</sup> See *Anecdota* of Land, vol. III., p. 252.

# OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.<sup>1</sup>

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In theology the Christological system starts from the *πρῶτον εὐαγγέλιον*, in Gen. III., 15. Not so the ancient synagogue. Starting from the talmudic saying, that "all the prophets have prophesied only of the days of the Messiah," it found references to the Messiah in many more passages of the Old Testament than those verbal predictions to which we generally appeal. According to this maxim, almost every passage of the Old Testament is to be referred to Messiah. That this was believed in the time of Jesus we see from passages like John v., 46, "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me." Now, these words are so general, that they cannot very well be confined, as is usually done, to Gen. III., 15; XII., 3; XVIII., 18; XXII., 18; XLIX., 10; Deut. XVIII., 15, 18. The same apostle also says (ch. XIX., 36): "For these things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken." Almost the same idea, as expressed in the talmudic passage quoted above, we find in the words of Peter, when he says (Acts III., 24): "Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." Such being the ideas in the consciousness of the writers in the time of Jesus, it is of no small interest to examine the sources, such as the *Talmud*, both the Jerusalem and Babylonian, the *Targumim* or Chaldee Paraphrases, and the oldest *Midrashim*, whence we derive our information on the subject.

## GENESIS.

### I., 2. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

This is the Spirit of the King Messiah, as it is said, "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him" (Isa. XL., 2).—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 2, 8. Whence do you prove that Messiah already existed before the creation? From "And the Spirit of God," etc.; and that the Messiah is meant thereby is seen from Isa. XL., 2, "And the Spirit of the Lord," etc.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol. 58, col. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Although Dr. Edersheim, in his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (London, 1883), has treated the same subject, yet a comparison of both will show the truth of the old saying, "Duo, quum faciunt idem, non est idem." The reader will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to verify Edersheim's quotations; for to do this it requires not only a rabbinic library, but also a knowledge of rabbinic literature. As both these things cannot be expected of every one, it has been our aim to give the quotations in full. And this is one feature wherein our treatment of the subject differs from Edersheim. In Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclop.*, s. v. *Midrash*, the reader will find the necessary information concerning the midrashic literature; and s. v. *Targum*, all that refers to the Chaldee paraphrases of the Old Testament.

I., 4. "And God saw the light that it was good."

Which light is it that shineth to the congregation of God? The light of Messiah, as it is written, "And God saw the light that it was good;" that is to say, God saw beforehand, before the world was created, that the Messiah will bring salvation to the nations.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol 62, col. 1. Referring to this exposition, the author of *Yalkut Shimeoni*, fol. 56, asks: What is indicated in the words (Ps. xxxvi., 10), "In thy light shall we see light?" what else than the light of the Messiah, of whom it is said, "And God saw the light that it was good."

III., 15. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The *Jerusalem Targum* thus paraphrases this passage: And it shall come to pass, when the children of the woman shall labor in the law, and perform the commandments, that they shall bruise and smite thee on thy head, and shall kill thee; but when the children of the woman shall forsake the precepts of the law, and shall not perform the commandments, thou shalt bruise and smite them on their heel, and hurt them; but there shall be a remedy for the children of the woman, but for thee, O serpent, there shall be no remedy, for hereafter they shall to each other perform a healing in the heel in the latter end of the days, in the days of King Messiah. The *Targum of Jonathan* goes on in the same strain, and concludes: Nevertheless there shall be a remedy for them; but to thee there shall not be a remedy; for they shall hereafter perform a healing in the heel in the days of King Messiah. The *Talmud Sota*, fol. 49, col. 2, speaks of "the heels of the Messiah" (עקבות משיח), i. e., of the time when the heel of the Messiah shall be bruised by the serpent, with reference to the troubles in the Messianic time. As this passage is very interesting, we give it here in full: Rabbi Pinchas, the son of Yair, said, Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages and the nobles are ashamed, and cover their heads. The wonder-workers are disdained, and those who rely upon their arm and tongue have become great. There is none who teaches (Israel), none who prays for the people, none who inquires (of the Lord). Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. Rabbi Eliezer the Great said: Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages have commenced to be like school-masters, and the school-masters like precentors, and the precentors like the laymen, and these too grow worse, and there is none who asks or inquires. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. In the footprints of the Messiah impudence will increase, and there will be scarcity. The vine will produce its fruit, but wine will be dear. The government will turn itself to heresy, and there will be no reproof. And the house of assembly will be for fornication. Galilee will be destroyed, and Gablan laid waste, and men of Gebul will



go from city to city, and find no favor. And the wisdom of the scribes will stink, and those who fear sin will be despised, and truth will fail. Boys will confuse the faces of old men. Old men will rise up before the young. The son will treat the father shamefully, and the daughter will rise up against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes will be those of his own household. The face of that generation will be as the face of a dog; the son will have no shame before his father. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven.—*Sota*, fol. 49, col. a, b.

- IV., 25. "For God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, Eva meant that seed which comes from another place. And who is meant? The King Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 23. Rav Huna said, It is written, "For God hath appointed another seed;" this is the seed which comes from another place. Who is that? The King Messiah.—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 8.

- XIX., 32. "Come, let us make our father drink wine, that we may preserve seed of our father."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel: The daughters said, "that we may preserve seed of our father." It is not written "a son," but "seed," which is to indicate the seed which is to come from another place. And what seed is it? The King Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 41.

- XXII., 18. "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

Why does God compare the Israelites to the sand of the sea? Because without sand no plant can be planted, and thus no one could exist; because there would be no fruits. Thus, likewise, the world could not exist without the Israelites; wherefore it is also written, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." In this life, it is true, the Israelites are compared to the dust of the earth, but in the Messianic age they will be like the sand of the sea; for as the sand makes the teeth dull, so also will the heathen be destroyed in the time of the Messiah, as it is said: "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion" (Num. xxiv., 19).—*Bemidbar Rabba*, sec. 2.

- XXXV., 21. "And spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar."

The *Targum Jonathan*, in loco, And Jacob journeyed and extended his tabernacle beyond the tower of Edar, the place whence hereafter King Messiah shall be revealed in the end of days.

- XLIX., 10. "Until Shiloh come."

The *Targum Onkelos* paraphrases, Until that Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Jerusalem Targum*, Until the time that King Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Targum Jonathan*, Until the time that

King Messiah, the youngest of his children, shall come. The *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (sec. 98, 99), *Midrash Echa* (i. e., on Lamentations I., 16) refer the expression "Shiloh" to the Messiah. That "Shiloh" was regarded as the name of the Messiah, we see from the following interesting talmudic passage: What is his name? They of the school of Rav Shila said, His name is Shiloh, as it is said, "Until Shiloh come." But those of the school of Rabbi Yanai said, His name is Yinon, as it is said, "Before the sun (was) his name was Yinon" (Ps. LXXII., 17). They of the school of Hanina said, Hanina is his name, as it is said, "Where I will not show you favor" (Jer. XVI., 13). And some say, His name is Menachem, the son of Hezekiah, as it is said, "Because he keeps far from me the Comforter, who refreshes my soul" (Lam. I., 16). The rabbis say, His name is the leper of the house of Rabbi, as it is said, "Surely he hath borne our sickness, and endured the burden of our pains, yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted" (Isa. LIII., 4).—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.<sup>1</sup>

— "And unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

The same is meant to whom the prophecy refers, "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people" (Isa. XI., 10).—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99.

XLIX., 11. "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes." The *Jerusalem Targum*: How fair is King Messiah, who is hereafter to arise from the house of Judah! He girdeth up his loins, and goes forth to battle against his foes, smiting kings with (their) princes, reddening their rivers with the blood of their slain, and whitening his valleys with the fatness of their strength; his garments are dipped in blood; he is like to the treader of grapes. The *Targum Jonathan* speaks almost in the same words. *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99, remarks on the words "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine," This refers to him of whom it is said "lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. IX., 9). In the Talmud we read, Whoever sees a vine in his dream, will see the Messiah, because it is written, "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine."—*Berachoth*, fol. 57, col. 1.

XLIX., 12. "His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: How fair are the eyes of King Messiah to look upon! more beautiful than the vine, purer than to behold with them the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of innocent blood; his teeth are more skillful in the law than to eat with them deeds of violence and rapine. The *Targum Jonathan* uses almost the same words.

<sup>1</sup> The same we find in *Midrash Echa*, or *Lamentations*, on i., 16.

## EXODUS.

XII., 42. "It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations."

The *Jerusalem Targum* paraphrases: It is a night to be kept and established for the deliverance which is from before the Lord in the bringing out of the children of Israel free from the land of Egypt. For there are four nights written in the book of remembrance. The first night was when the word of the Lord was revealed on the world to create it.... The second night was when the word of the Lord was revealed to Abraham between the parts.... The third night was when the word of the Lord appeared against the Egyptians at midnight.... The fourth night shall be when the world shall arrive at its end to be dissolved, the cords of the wicked shall be consumed, and the iron yoke shall be broken, Moses shall go forth from the midst of the desert, and King Messiah from the midst of Rome, etc.

XVI., 25. "Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto the Lord." *Jerusalem Talmud*: Rabbi Levi said, If Israel would only observe one sabbath as it ought to be observed, the son of David would soon come, as it is said, "Moses said," etc.—*Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1.<sup>1</sup>

XL., 9. "And shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof, and it shall be holy." The *Targum Jonathan*: And thou shalt hallow the magnificent crown of the kingdom of the house of Judah and the King Messiah, who will redeem Israel in the latter days."

XL., 11. "And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it." The *Targum Jonathan*: And thou shalt anoint the laver, etc., for the sake of .... Messiah, the son of Ephraim, who is to proceed from him; by whom Israel will subdue Gog and his allies in the latter days.

## LEVITICUS.

XXVI., 12. "And I will walk among you."

This refers to the Messianic time, as it is said, "For they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion" (Isa. LII., 8).—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 34, col. 1.

## NUMBERS.

XI., 26. "And they prophesied in the camp."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: And both of them prophesied together, and they said, In the end of the heel of days, Gog and Magog and their army shall ascend against Jerusalem, but by the hand of King Messiah they shall fall.

<sup>1</sup> In the Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbath*, fol. 118, col. 2, we read: If Israel would only observe two sabbaths as they ought to, they would soon be redeemed.



XXIII., 21. "And the shout of a king is among them."

The *Targum Jonathan*: And the shouting of King Messiah which he will shout among them.

XXIV., 7. "And his kingdom shall be exalted."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: And the kingdom of King Messiah will be magnified.

XXIV., 17. "There shall come a star of Jacob."

The *Targum Onkelos*: When a mighty king of Jacob's house will reign, and the Messiah will be magnified. The *Targum Jonathan*: When there shall reign a strong king of the house of Jacob, and Messiah shall be anointed, and a strong sceptre shall be from Israel, etc. Rabbi Simeon the son of Yochai lectured: Rabbi Akiba, my teacher, explained, "There shall come a star of Jacob;" Cosiba comes of Jacob, for when he saw Bar Cosiba, he exclaimed, This is the King Messiah.—*Jerusalem Taanith*, fol. 68, col. 4. The Israelites said to God, How long shall we be in bondage? He replied, Till the day comes of which it is said, "There shall come a star of Jacob."—*Debarim Rabba*, sec. 1. Our rabbis have a tradition that in the week in which Messiah will be born, there will be a bright star in the east, which is the star of the Messiah.—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 58, col. 1.

XXIV., 20. "But his latter end shall be that he perish for ever."

*Targum Jonathan*: And their end in the days of King Messiah."

XXIV., 24. "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim," etc.

*Targum Jonathan*: The destiny of all of them is to be conquered by King Messiah.

#### DEUTERONOMY.

XXV., 19. "Thou shalt not forget it."

*Targum Jonathan*: And even to the days of King Messiah thou shalt not forget it.

XXX., 4. "And from thence will he fetch thee."

*Targum Jonathan*: From thence will the word of the Lord your God gather you by the hand of Elijah the high-priest, and from thence will he bring you by the hand of King Messiah.

XXXII., 7. "Remember the days of old," etc.

Another explanation is this: "Remember the days of old" means that whenever God brings sufferings upon you, remember how many good and comfortable things he is about to give you in the world to come. "Consider the years of many generations" denotes the generation of the Messiah.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 134, col. 1.

XXXIII., 12. "And he shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders."

"And he shall cover him" denotes the first temple; "all the day long" denotes the second temple; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" denotes

the days of the Messiah. Rabbi said, "and he shall cover him" denotes this world; "all the day long" this are the days of the Messiah; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" means the world to come.—*Talm. Bab. Zevachim*, fol. 118, col. 2.

XXXIII., 17. "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock."

This passage is quoted in connection with Gen. xxxii., 5, "And I have oxen and asses." According to the rabbis, ox denoted the anointed of the war, for it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock;" ass denotes the King Messiah, for it is said, "Lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. ix., 9). *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 95.

RUTH.

- I., 1. "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land."

*Targum*: And it came to pass . . . a mighty famine in the land of Israel. Ten mighty famines were decreed from the heavens to be in the world from the day that the world was created until King Messiah should come.

- II., 14. "And Boaz said unto her, at meal-time come thou hither," etc.

The Midrash *in loco* remarks that Rabbi Jochanan interpreted this in six different ways. He referred it to David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Manasseh, King Messiah and Boaz. As to the fifth we read: The words refer to the history of King Messiah. "Come thou hither" means draw near to the kingdom; "and eat of the bread," i. e., eat of the bread of the kingdom; "and dip thy morsel in the vinegar," i. e., these are the sufferings, as it is said, "He was wounded for our transgressions" (Isa. liii., 5); "and she sat beside the reapers" because his kingdom will once be put aside for a short time, for it is said, "For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken" (Zech. xiv., 2). "And he reached her parched corn," i. e., the kingdom will again be given to him, as it is said, "And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (Isa. xi., 4). Rabbi Berachia said in the name of Rabbi Levi: "As the first redeemer, so the last; as the first redeemer (i. e., Moses) revealed himself and disappeared from before them (i. e., the Israelites)—and how long was he hidden from them? Three months, as it is said, "And they met Moses and Aaron" (Exod. v., 20)—so also will the last redeemer appear to them and disappear from before them. And for how long? Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of the rabbis, Forty-five days, and this it is what is said: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away" and "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh" (Dan. xii., 11, 12).<sup>a</sup> And what kind of days are these? Rabbi Isaac, the son of Kezartha, said in the name of Rabbi Jonah: During these forty-five days the Israelites cut up mallows and eat them, and to this refers "Who cut up

mallows by the bushes" (Job xxx., 4). Whither does he (the redeemer) lead them (the Israelites, before he disappears)? From the land into the wilderness of Judea, as it is said, "Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness" (Hos. ii., 14). Some say, "into the wilderness of Sihon and Og," for it is said, "yet make thee dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feast" (xii., 9). Whosoever believes in him, shall live; whosoever believes not in him, goes to the nations of the world, which kill him. At the end God reveals himself to them, and sends down manna. "There is no new thing under the sun" (Eccl. i., 9).—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 5.

III., 15. "He measured six measures of barley."

*Targum*: And he measured six measures of barley . . . . . and immediately it was said by prophecy that hereafter there should proceed from her the six righteous ones of the world, who should each of them hereafter be blessed with six blessings,—David, and Daniel, and his (three) companions, and King Messiah.

IV., 18. "Now these are the generations of Pharez."

You find that the word תולדות (i. e., generations) is everywhere in Scripture written defective (i. e., without the *waw* ך), except in two passages, viz., "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth" (Gen. ii., 4), and "These are the generations of Pharez." And there is a great reason for this. Why? It is said, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth," where the word תולדות is written *plene*. Why? Because when God created his world, there was not yet the angel of death in the world, and therefore the word is written *plene*. But when Adam and Eva sinned, all the תולדות (generations) in the Scripture became *defective*; when Pharez arose, his תולדות became again *plene*, because from him proceeds Messiah, and in his time God swallows up death, as it is said, "He will swallow up death in victory" (Isa. xxv., 8). Therefore in these two passages (Gen. ii., 4; Ruth iv., 18) the word תולדות is written *plene*.—*Midrash on Exodus*, or *Shemoth Rabba*, sec. 30.

IV., 20. See Gen. iv., 25.

1 SAMUEL.

II., 10. "And exalt the horn of his anointed."

*Targum*: And will magnify the kingdom of his Messiah.

2 SAMUEL.

XXII., 28. "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."

This passage is brought in connection with the advent of the Messiah in the *Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1: Rabbi Yochanan said, If thou seest a generation whose prosperity is gradually diminishing, look out for Him, for it is said, "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."



XXIII., 1. "Now these be the last words of David."

*Targum:* Now these are the words of prophecy of David, which he prophesied concerning the end of the world, concerning the days of consolation, which are hereafter to come.

XXIII., 3. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

*Targum:* He promised to set up from me a king, who is the Messiah, that shall rise and reign in the fear of the Lord.

1 KINGS.

IV., 33. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree, etc."

*Targum:* And he prophesied concerning the kings of the house of David, who were hereafter to reign in this world, and in the world to come of Messiah, and he prophesied concerning the cattle, etc.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

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### 1. On Genesis II., 9 b.

In an instructive review of Budde's *Biblische Urgeschichte*, in the *Theologische Tijdschrift* for last year, p. 136, Professor Kuenen argues, from the *form* of the verse Gen. II., 9 b (ועץ החיים בתוך הגן ועץ הדעת טוב ורע), that the words ועץ הדעת טוב ורע are an addition—though an addition made by the author himself—to the original narrative. In drawing this inference, however, the learned critic appears to have overlooked a peculiarity of Hebrew style. When Hebrew writers have occasion to combine a double subject (or object) in one sentence, it is their habit, not unfrequently, to complete the clause containing one of these subjects (or objects), attaching the other to this clause subsequently. Examples: (a) Gen. xli., 27 a, where the seven ears are to be regarded, equally with the seven kine, as subjects to שבע שנים הנה, so that the ׀ has the force of “as also” (gleich wie); Num. xvi., 2 a, 18 b, 27 b; Judg. vi., 5 a, כי הם ומקניהם יעלו ואהלהים; Isa. lv., 1 a. (b) Gen. i., 16 b, where there is no occasion, with AV., to supply the verb “he made,” but, as the accents also indicate, הכוכבים, as well as המאור הקטון, are appointed to rule over the night;<sup>1</sup> xii., 17, וינגע י״ את פרעה נגעים גדלים ואת ביתו; xxxiv., 29; xliii., 15 a, 18, ולקחת אתנו לעבדים ואת חמרנו; Num. xiii., 23 b, 26 b, וישבו אתם דבר ואת כל העדה; Jer. xxvii., 7 a; 1 Kgs. v., 9; 1 Sam. vi., 11; Judg. xxi., 10 b. (c) Analogous examples with prepositions: Gen. xxviii., 14; Exod. xxxiv., 27 b, כרתי אתך ברית ואת ישראל; Deut. vii., 14 b (cf. xxviii., 54 a, 56 a); Jer. xxv., 12 (על); xl., 9 (ל), etc.

The words thus attached are not, in all these cases, to be treated (with Ewald, § 339 a<sup>2</sup>) as subordinate. The order in Gen. II., 9 b, is quite regular and natural. Either ועץ החיים ורע, or בתוך הגן ועץ הדעת טוב ורע would have been inelegant and heavy. From the *form* of the verse, at any rate, no support can be derived for the conjecture of Professor Kuenen.

<sup>1</sup> Construe, therefore, “And God made the two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light, as also the stars, to rule the night.” Where two *zaqeph*s are repeated (in the same half-verse), the second always marks a less appreciable break than the first. See, e. g., i., 20 a; iii., 5 a, 17 b, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xviii., 6, is pretty clearly corrupt. In xxv., 42, הלכת should probably be read (cf. Ex. ii., 5). xxix., 10, is very abnormal; analogy requires the insertion of אתם after השכם בבקר

## 2. On מֵאֵין בְּמִוֶּדֶה (Jer. x., 6, 8).

In order to estimate the various explanations that have been offered on this difficult phrase, it will be necessary to begin by examining briefly the use of מֵאֵין, and of the allied מִבְּלִי, in Hebrew generally.

מֵאֵין occurs in the general sense of "without" in a number of passages, of which the earliest are Isa. v., 9; vi., 11; and מִבְּלִי is used similarly, from Jer. ii., 15. How is this use to be explained, and what precisely is the force attaching to the preposition in these phrases? Our readers will be familiar with the use of מִן after verbs implying "cessation," for the purpose of defining the particular nature of the cessation intended:—"After sixty-five years Ephraim shall be broken מֵעַם *away from* (being) *a people*" (which becomes, in our idiom,<sup>1</sup> *so that it be no more a people*); "Every house is shut up מִבּוֹא *away from* (any) *entering in*" (= so that none entereth in); "Therefore it shall be night to you מִחֲזוֹן *away from vision*" (= that there be no vision); etc. Arguing from these, and many similar passages, we should expect in such a sentence as "The land shall be wasted *that there be no inhabitant* (or, *none passing through*, etc.)," to find the latter part expressed in Hebrew by מִיֹּשֵׁב (or מִמַּעֲבֵר<sup>2</sup>). Instead of this, however, we find regularly מֵאֵין יֹשֵׁב (or מִבְּלִי), and similarly with other words, מֵאֵין אָדָם, מֵאֵין עֹבֵר (or מִבְּלִי).<sup>3</sup> One of the two negative particles מִן or אֵין (esp. בְּלִי) must here be pleonastic; and it seems, in fact, that אֵין is added for the purpose of strengthening the idea expressed by מִן, just as it strengthens the idea expressed by בְּלִי in a phrase which occurs in two widely separated parts of the Old Testament, and carries, therefore, with it the presumption of being a genuine Hebrew idiom:—"הַמִּבְּלִי אֵין" "Is it on account of there being no (literally, Is it from the deficiency of no) graves in Egypt...?" "Is it on account of there being no God in Israel...?" (Exod. xiv., 11; 2 Kgs. i., 3, 6, 16).<sup>4</sup> As thus used, however, both מֵאֵין and מִבְּלִי presuppose an antecedent clause expressing some negative idea with which מִן forms the connecting link. If, therefore, they are rendered "without," it must be recollected that this preposition is used in a pregnant sense, expressing essentially the consequences of a preceding act.

It is only in the Book of Job that מִבְּלִי is used more freely in the sense of "without," the connection with a preceding verb being no longer distinctly felt.

<sup>1</sup> Thus drawing attention not to the *old* state which has ceased, but to the *new* state which has arrived.

<sup>2</sup> As indeed occurs, Zech. vii., 14 (מִמַּעֲבֵר וּמִשֹּׁב).

<sup>3</sup> Jer. iv., 7; ix., 9; xxvi., 9; xxxii., 43; xxxiii., 10, 12; Ezek. xiv., 15; xxxiii., 28, etc. These cases will, of course, be carefully distinguished from those in which the מִן has a causal force; as Deut. ix., 28; Isa. v., 13, מִבְּלִי דַעַת *from lack of knowledge*; Hos. iv., 6; Jer. vii., 32 = xix., 11, מֵאֵין מָקוֹם (according to Hitz., Ewald, Graf, Keil, and RV. margin).

<sup>4</sup> Examples of the corresponding phrase in Syriac (ܡܢ ܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ) are cited by Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 528, e. g. Ephr. i., 11 (ܡܢ ܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ); Lagarde, *Reliquiae Juris Eccles.*, 141, 6; 142, 8.



Thus, iv., 20, "*Without any heeding, they perish forever;*" vi., 6, "Will that which is tasteless be eaten *without salt?*" xxiv., 7, "Naked they pass the night **מבלי לבוש** *without raiment*" (cf. verse 10, "Naked they walk about **בלי לבוש**"); xxiv., 8, "*Refuge-less they cling to the rock.*" The analogy of these passages makes it probable that **מבלי** has the same force in iv., 11, "The lion perisheth *without prey;*" and xxxi., 19, "If I saw one perishing *without raiment;*" although otherwise "for lack of" would here afford an excellent sense. But the general difference between the use of **מבלי** in Job, and that of both **מבלי** and **מאין** elsewhere, is that, in these other instances, the clause thus introduced adds a *new* feature to the description ("The land shall be wasted,"—how? *so that the condition of persons passing through ceases*), whereas in Job **מבלי** expresses little more than a concomitant of the description (which is not even necessarily expressed in negative terms) contained in the principal clause.

Ewald, now, explains the phrase in Jer. x., from the use of **מאין** explained above. He supposes that the original and proper force of **מאין** was forgotten, that it was considered simply to express the sense of a strong negation, "even none," in no necessary connection with a preceding or connected clause, and that it was thus capable of standing in any part of the sentence. He translates, therefore, **מאין כַּמוֹךָ** "there is *even none* like thee," quoting, as a parallel to this free use of **מאין**, Job xviii., 15, **תִּשְׁכֹּן בִּאהֱלוֹ מְבִלִי לוֹ**, which he renders—and Delitzsch follows him<sup>1</sup>—"there shall dwell in his tent *even naught*<sup>2</sup> of his."

Is this explanation tenable? It is true, as we have seen, that in Job **מבלי** is used more independently than elsewhere; at the same time the prepositional force of **מן** is never entirely lost; it is still a link, though a weakened link, connecting what follows with the main sentence. Upon Ewald's hypothesis, **מאין** and **מבלי** appear suddenly, not merely as independent particles, but as denoting the *subject* of a sentence. **מן** has thus lost its negative force altogether. In this use of **מאין** there is no analogy. **מבלי** in Job xviii., which is appealed to, is not decisive. If it denotes there "even naught," it expresses an entirely different sense from that which it bears in any other passage in the same book. And there is no necessity to give it such a sense even there. The **מן** may be partitive, as it is understood by Hitzig, "There shall dwell in his tent *what is naught* of his." In the difficulty of understanding how **מן**, in its *negative* sense, can have been treated as a mere expletive, this explanation, which gives **מן** a natural and intelligible meaning, seems preferable. The analogy appealed to by Ewald in support of his rendering of **מאין כַּמוֹךָ** is thus, at best, an uncertain one, and seems, moreover, upon independent grounds, to be improbable.

Another mode of explanation is adopted by Gesenius (*Thez.*, s. v. **מן**), who regards **מאין כַּמוֹךָ** as involving an extension of that partitive use of **מן** which

<sup>1</sup> "בלי a strengthened בלי."

<sup>2</sup> Neuter, (not masc.), on account of the *feminine* predicate.

we meet with in מאחד in Hebrew, and which occurs more frequently in Arabic, "after negative particles, and after interrogatives put in a negative sense."<sup>1</sup> In Arabic: "Ye have not *إِلَهَ مَنْ* aught of god (= any god) except Him;" "Doth aught of one *مَنْ أَحَدٌ* (= any, ullus) see you?" "Do you perceive of them aught of one (= a single one)?" "Not aught of one (= Not one) would hold you back," etc. In Hebrew: "If there shall be in the midst of thee a poor man, מאחד אחיך aught of one (= any) of thy brethren, in one of thy gates," etc. (Deut. xv., 7); "If one doth מאחת מהנה aught of any (= any) of those things" (Lev. iv., 2); "If he do aught of one (= any) of these things" (Ezek. xviii., 10). Assuming now that מן is rightly explained in these constructions as partitive, let us analyze its application to the passage in Jeremiah. אין כמוך means "(there is) naught of the like of thee," or, more briefly (the question of the precise meaning of כ not being before us) "(there is) naught like thee." מאין כמוך, then, will mean "(there is) aught of naught like thee." Is this an intelligible sentence? In a sentence either stating a hypothesis, or (as in the Arabic usage formulated by Dr. Wright) implying a negation, the use of מן to strengthen the idea of *one only*, by assuming rhetorically a *part of one*, the existence of which is then questioned or denied, is intelligible; but a sentence affirming (as would here be done by implication) the existence of a *part of nothing* is surely an incredible one. It is not credible even on the supposition that, מאחד being in use as a strengthened form of אחד, the מן was applied *mechanically* to אין for the purpose of strengthening it similarly; for the sentences in the two cases differ so widely in form and structure, that the foundation is lacking even for the operation of false analogy. Isa. xl., 17; xli., 24 [M. T. מאפע מאפם ופעלכם מאפם] are not parallel. It is possible to say rhetorically, "Ye are of nothing and your work of naught" (whether of here means "a part of" [see Hitzig] or "consisting in"); but this does not justify the expression "(there is) part of naught of the like of thee."<sup>2</sup> At most, it would justify the punctuation מאין, and the rendering, "Part of naught is the like of thee." But this, while more artificial, is not stronger than the normal אין כמוך, and, though suitable where the subject is אתם or פעלכם, for the purpose of declaring emphatically its equivalence with nonentity, is unsuitable when the subject is a word like כמוך. Gesenius fails to show how מאין כמוך can be intelligibly conceived as a strengthened expression for אין כמוך.

מאין כמוך appears thus to admit of no satisfactory explanation. In Jer. xxx., 7, however, occurs the expression, "Ho, for great is that day מאין כמוהו." The rendering of A.V. (as also of R.V.), "so that none is like it," can-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, II., § 48 f. (b). See also Ewald, *Gr. Ar.*, § 577, and the examples cited by Gesenius.

<sup>2</sup> The rendering "(There is) less than naught of the like of thee" reads into מן more than it will legitimately express.

not be intended as a strictly literal version; for the analogy of the phrases **מֵאֵין** **יֵשֵׁב**, etc., would demand the punctuation **מֵאֵין כְּמֵהוּ**; there is no example of **אֵין** being pointed as if it were in the absolute state (**אֵין**) when it precedes the word with which it is related.<sup>1</sup> **מֵאֵין** must here bear its usual sense of “whence?” which agrees excellently with the context, “Ho, for great is that day; whence is the like of it?” This is the rendering adopted by Hitzig, who also proposes (following J. D. Michaelis) to point and render similarly in x., 6, 8 **מֵאֵין כְּמֵהוּ** “whence is any like thee?” Nägelsbach, indeed, objects that we have always elsewhere **מִי כְּמֵהוּ** “who is like thee?” but, whatever be the explanation accepted, we have to deal with an unusual expression; and a construction which is logically and grammatically intelligible seems preferable to one which is so difficult to understand or justify as either of those which have been considered above. The recurrence of the same form in verse 8 makes it improbable, as Graf remarks, that the **מ** is due merely to an accidental repetition of the preceding letter (**אֵין** **מֵאֵין**). The Versions (both here<sup>2</sup> and in xxx., 7) all render by a simple negative, as if the reading were **אֵין**; but where delicate distinctions are involved, their evidence, as regards either reading or construction, is of slight value. In all probability, the true meaning of the phrase had been lost by the Jews, and a false interpretation is embodied in the Massoretic punctuation.

### 3. On 1 Samuel I., 5.

ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אפים כי את חנה אהב ויהיה סגר רחמה.

The difficulty in **אֵפִים** is well-known. It is rendered (1) “heavily.” So Coverdale (1534), following the Vulgate “tristis;” Joseph Kimchi (afterwards David Kimchi) **כלומר בכעס היה נותן לה מנה אחת לבר**, Luther, “traurig;” Sebastian Münster (1635), “facie (demissa);” Geneva *margin* (“some read [so, in fact, the “Great Bible” of 1539] ‘a portion with an heavy cheer’”); and among moderns, Böttcher and Thenius. For this sense of **אֵפִים**, however, there is no support in the known usage of the language: **בִּאֵפִים** occurs with the meaning “in anger” in Dan. xi., 20; but even supposing that an early writer would use the dual, upon the analogy of **אֵפִים**, in that sense, the meaning obtained would be unsuitable; and the expressions **נִפְּלוּ פָּנֶיךָ** (Gen. iv., 6) and **פָּנֶיהָ לֹא** (1 Sam. i., 18) are not sufficient to justify the sense of a dejected countenance being assigned to **אֵפִים**.

It is rendered (2), in connection with **מִנָּה אחת** *one portion of two faces* (= two persons), i. e., a double portion. So the Peshito (**أَنْفًا**), Gesenius, and Keil. It is true that the Syriac **أَفْتَيْنِ** corresponds generally in usage to the Hebrew **פָּנִים**; but, to say nothing of the fact that a Syriasm is unexpected in Samuel, there is nothing in the use of the Syriac **أَفْتَيْنِ** to suggest that the *dual* would, in

<sup>1</sup> Job xxxv., 15 (see Delitzsch) will hardly be objected as an exception.

<sup>2</sup> Where, however, LXX. omits.



Hebrew, denote *two* persons; אֶחָד (like פְּנִים) is used of *one* person, the singular not occurring. If אֶפְסִים means *two* persons, it must be implied that אֶחָד, in Hebrew, might denote *one* person, which the meaning of the word obviously does not allow. Secondly, the construction, if this rendering were correct, would be unexampled. מִנָּה אֶפְסִים evidently cannot be a genitive after the compound מִנָּה אֶחָד; and the disparity between the two ideas (*one portion* and *two persons*) precludes us from treating it as a case of apposition (as is suggested by Keil);<sup>1</sup> Ewald, § 287 b, offers, in this respect, nothing parallel. Grammatically, therefore, not less than lexically, this rendering is exposed to the gravest objections.

(3) The history of the A.V. *a worthy portion* (inherited from the Genevan Version of 1560) is curious. It is based ultimately upon the rendering of the Targum: "And to Hannah he gave חוֹלֶק חָר בְּחִיר *one choice portion*," which is thus paraphrased by Rashi רָאוּי לְהִתְקַבֵּל בְּסֵנֶר פָּנִים יְפוֹת "a portion fit to be received with a cheerful countenance." בְּחִיר in the Targum corresponds to the Heb. אֶפְסִים; how it was obtained from it may not be perfectly certain; but Kimchi seeks apparently to explain it, when he annotates the text thus, מִנָּה אֶחָד נִכְבְּרַת<sup>2</sup> לְהִשִּׁיב אֶפְסָה וְכַעֲסָה וְכֵן אֶחָד אֶפְסִים אֶחָד כַּעֲסָה—in the Latin of Seb. Münster, "partem unam electam: hoc est, dedit Hannae partem honorificam at ab ea auferet animi et vultus molestiam." As here explained, "worthy" is no translation of אֶפְסִים, but merely expresses a characteristic of the particular "portion" sufficient to produce the desired result. But this explanation is only of historical interest; it is evident that אֶפְסִים alone cannot mean "against" or "to remove vexation." In the *Book of Roots*, however (s. v. אֶפְסָה), there is suggested as an alternative אוּ פִירוּשׁוֹ רָאוּיָהּ לְפָנִים כְּלוֹמַר מִנָּה נִכְבְּרַת. This explanation is easier, but is open to objections, upon ground of usage and construction, similar to those already urged against (2).

In the LXX. אֶפְסִים is represented by πλεον, i. e., אֶפְסִים. This reading at once relieves the difficulty of the verse, and affords a consistent and grammatical sense. אֶפְסִים כִּי restricts or qualifies the preceding clause, precisely as in Num. XIII., 28. "But unto Hannah he used to give one portion;" this, following the מִנָּה of verse 4, might seem to imply that Elkanah felt less affection towards her than towards her sister. To obviate such a misconception, the writer continues, "Howbeit he loved Hannah, but the LORD had shut up her womb," the last clause assigning the reason why Hannah received but one portion. The words οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αὐτῇ παιδεύουσα in LXX. before πλεον seem to be merely an explanatory addition inserted by the translators, and need not be supposed to have formed part of the Hebrew text read by them.

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix to the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*, § 290.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Abulwalid (11th century), وَجْهَةٌ هَظِيْمَةٌ.

# EMENDATIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF ISAIAH.

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Biblical criticism is still in its infancy. Conservative scholars still deem it a sin to admit that the Massoretic text of the Bible has undergone great changes. They would rather impute to the sacred writers all kinds of deficiencies in logic and grammar, in oratory and common sense, than allow the intact state of the Holy Writings to be questioned. A careful study of the text of all the twenty-four books has convinced me that few chapters have escaped corruptions by mistake of writers, as well as alterations and interpolations at the hands of the scribes. Entire lines and columns have been misplaced and occasionally intermingled, so as to disturb the order and harmony of the entire composition. Expressions or prophetic predictions which sounded too harsh and severe were altered or softened by interpolations and additions, particularly at the end of a chapter or book. There are many Psalms and prophetic compositions in which the verse recurring at the end of each strophe, the refrain, has been sadly neglected and lost sight of to such a degree that only the sharp eye of a critic can discover it anew and restore the shattered fragments. No poetical rule has more consistently been adhered to by authors than the *Parallelismus Membrorum* by the Hebrew bards and writers. Yet even this has again and again been encroached upon by copyists and accentuators. And the best and most scholarly commentators have failed to give due attention to these facts. I am well aware that such general assertions will meet with ridicule and scorn, and unless I shall have accomplished the task of submitting my views of the whole Bible text to the scholarly world, I cannot expect to find many who will agree with me. Only the long array of proofs must at the end decide in my favor. At present I can merely plead for the patience and indulgence of my readers, as I intend to take up one chapter and one book after the other, being not so anxious to carry my point as to help in restoring, as far as possible, the original text. I shall commence with the book of *Isaiah*.

## I.

4. **נִזְרָא אַחֲרָי**. These last two words disturb the parallelism, and fail to present a "climax" (Cheyne). On the other hand, the following verse seems defective, beginning in the second person, whereas no one is addressed. Read **נִזְרָא אַחֲרָי (חֲרָב) אֲשׁוּר**, and begin with it the new verse: "Ye single parts left by Assur, on what part will ye still be smitten, whilst adding 'perversion?'" The words are characteristically omitted in the Septuagint.

6. Read רַכְנו instead of רַכְכָּה.
7. “ סֶדֶם “ “ זָרִים. So Studer, *Protest. Jahrb.*, Lagarde and Cheyne.
9. “ כַּמַּעַט כְּסֶדֶם.....לִי, “ Had not Jehovah left a remnant, almost like Sodom would we have become;” cf. my article on לִי in Geiger’s *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 29.
11. וּבְשִׁים, more than superfluous alongside of וַעֲתוּדִים, is not found in the LXX.
- 12 and 13 have greatly suffered at the hands of the Scribes, who felt like smoothing somewhat the rigid condemnations of the prophet. The LXX. offer the following reading: רְמוֹס חֲצִרִי לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ כִּי תִבְיֹאוּ מִנְחָה שְׂוֹא קִטְרֹת וַיּוֹם מִקְרָא (גְּדוּל) לֹא אוֹכֵל צֹם וְעֶצְרָה תַעֲבֶה הִיא לִי : חֲרָשִׁים וּשְׁבָתוֹת. The original reading seems to have been thus—verse 12: כִּי תִבְיֹאוּ לְרֹאוֹת פָּנַי לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הֵבִיא מִנְחָת שְׂוֹא קִטְרֹת תוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי מִי בָקֵשׁ זֹאת מִיָּדְכֶם רְמוֹס חֲצִרִי : (13) חֲרָשׁ וּשְׁבָת קִרָּא מִקְרָא צֹם וְעֶצְרָה אֵין, לֹא אוֹכֵל.
- Translation: “If you come to see my face, do not continue to bring meal-offerings of falsehood; it is an incense of abomination to me.
- “Who desires this from you? To trample my courts? The New Moon and the Sabbath, the calling of the assembly, the fasting and the solemn gathering—it is iniquity, I cannot bear it.”
17. חָמוֹץ gives no satisfactory sense. Read חָמוֹס *the violenced*, participle pass. of חָמַס.
23. וַחֲבָרִי. The plural is to be replaced by the singular, וַחֲבָר *and a band*.
25. וְאַשִׁיבָה *I will bring back* gives no sense. Read וְאַשִׁימָה *I will put my hands upon thee*. The error was caused by the first word of the following verse.
28. וּשְׁבִיָּה. Read וּשְׁבִיָּה *and her captivity* = captives.
29. כִּי יִבְשׁוּ. In place of the third person there ought to be the second. Read כִּי תִבְשׁוּ *for you will be ashamed*.
31. וְהָיָה הַחֲסֵן. This word “stronghold” does not well fit itself to the context. Read, with Lagarde, הַחֲמֵן “And the sun-pillar shall be as tow, and its maker (וּפַעְלוֹ) a spark.” Here, for וּפַעְלוֹ, Lagarde’s conjecture, I prefer the Massoretic reading, וּבַעְלוֹ *and its Baal*.

## II.

- 2-4 are certainly not in their right place here, if ever spoken by Isaiah. They originally belong to the author of the fourth and fifth chapters of Micah, probably a contemporary of Zephaniah; and it is not impossible that some of the scribes wanted to stamp them as Isaianic by giving them verse 1 as a heading, while another Massoretic tradition attributed them to Micah.
- 5 has no connection with the following verses, either. But there can be little doubt that the verse is corrupt. I read בֵּית יַעֲקֹב לָכֹו וְנִכְחָה יֹאמֵר



יהוה כי נִשְׁשַׁת אֱלֹהֶיךָ בֵּית יַעֲקֹב כִּי מָלְאוּ מִקְסָם וְעוֹנָנִים כַּפְלִישִׁתִּים  
 וּבִילְדֵי נִכְרִים יִכְשְׁפוּ *O house of Jacob, let us dispute together, saith the Lord.*  
*For thou hast forsaken thy God, O house of Jacob. For they are full of sorcery*  
*and diviners like the Philistines, and with the children of foreigners they practice*  
*witchcraft.*

The following passage is remarkable for the obvious confusion which some of its parts have suffered. Cf. verses 9, 10 and 11 with verses 17, 19, 21, and you discern a *refrain* in the composition. Yet it has been entirely lost sight of by the copyists; and confusion prevails to such a degree that the last verse has been given up by the latest commentators in utter despair. Here is the whole passage restored:—The first word of verse 11 offers the missing fragment of verse 9:

9. וַיִּשַׁח אָדָם וַיִּשְׁפֹּל אִישׁ וְאֵל אִשָּׁא (the LXX. read אִשָּׁא לָהֶם עוֹנָם :  
 .....I shall not forgive them their sin.

10. בֹּא בַצּוֹר וְהַטֵּמֶן בְּעֶפֶר מִפְּנֵי פֶחַד יְהוָה וּמִהֲדַר גָּאֲנוּ בְּקוֹמוֹ לַעֲרִץ  
 הָאָרֶץ :

11. וְהָיָה גְבַהּוֹת אָדָם שָׁפֹל וְשַׁח רוּם אֲנָשִׁים וְנִשְׁגַּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בְּיוֹם  
 הַהוּא :

12. וְנִבְהָ. Read וַיִּשְׁפֹּל.

17 belongs after verse 19; then let 18 read וְהָאֱלִילִים כָּלִיל יַחֲלֹפוּ. The ך of the following word caused the omission of the same letter in the preceding one.

20. Read אִשֶּׁר עָשָׂה לוֹ לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לַחֲפָרָרוֹת וּלְעַטְלָפִים.

21 and 22 are but variant readings of verses 19 and 17—in fact, marginal glosses, partly corrupted.

### III.

1. The last six words have, by various commentators, been declared to be glosses.

3. The word וַיִּוְעֶץ is probably also a gloss.

4. וְהַעֲלִילִים is correctly translated in the King James version “babes.” It is parallel to נְעָרִים, and identical with מַעֲלָל in verse 12.

6. Instead of וְהַמְכִּשְׁלָה *and the ruin*, which offers no tolerable sense in the whole context, the Septuagint presents the reading וְהַמְבִּשְׁלָה *and this dish*. Taking into consideration that the following verse begins rather abruptly, I suggest that the original reading was וְהַמְבִּשְׁלָה הַזֹּאת תִּקַּח *and take this meat*, the meaning being “they will offer a coat and a meal to any one accepting an office;” but אֶת יָדוֹ יִשָּׂא בְּיוֹם הַהוּא *he will lift up his hand to swear* that he will not accept the office, for his own household is not provided thereby.

8, at the close, shows traces, at least, of intentional alteration; and still more so the Greek version. Read בְּלִשְׁוֹנָם וּמַעֲלוּ מַעַל בִּיהוָה לְמַרְתָּ אֶת פָּנָי

- כְּבוֹדוֹ *with their tongues they commit treason against the Lord, to offend the face of his glory.* The Seventy have read כְּבוֹדֵם *their glory*, a euphemistic alteration. The rather meaningless word כְּסֹדֵם, in verse 9, originally may have been a marginal note belonging to כְּבוֹדוֹ in our verse.
- 10 and 11 have already been pointed out by Studer as marginal notes.
12. וְדַרְךְ *the way of thy paths* is a tautology. We expect a word analogous to מְאֻשְׁרֶיךָ *thy guides*. Read וּמוֹרִיךְ *and thy teachers*.
- 14 c and d belong after 15 a, b. "Why do you crush my people and grind the face of the afflicted. Ye eat up the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your houses." This address of the prophet, with its allusion to the vineyard, is continued in ch. v., which deals with the iniquities of the oppressors, repeating even in verse 16 the refrain of ch. ii.
- 15 d commences a new chapter: נֹאם אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *An oracle of the Lord Yahweh Ts'bhaoth.*
16. וַיֹּאמֶר (cf. LXX.). Read כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *Thus saith Yahweh.*
18. The LXX. read after the word תַּפְאֶרֶת a word like לְבוֹשָׁם *the glory of their dress*, which was probably omitted for euphemistic reasons.
24. נִקְפָּה, as parallel to מֶקֶךְ = "rotteness," is not, likely, a rope, but, as Grätz suggests, a corrupted form of רִקְבָּה = "rotteness."
26. פְּתָחֶיהָ *"thy gates shall sigh and lament"* gives little satisfactory sense; and so is the following word (וּנְקָתָהּ) very obscure and problematic. Read יְפִיּוֹתֶיךָ *thy fair ones* וְרַבְּתֶיךָ *and thy tender ones*. The Septuagint offers traces of this reading in the preceding verse, ὁ χαλλιστος, etc. לֹאֲרִץ תִּשְׁבֶּנָּה *shall sit on the ground*. This connects fitly with the following verse (iv., 1).

## IV.

2. The words צִמָּח and פְּרִי, expressions used during the Exile for the expected son of David (cf. זֶרַע בָּבֶל *seed planted in Babel*) are missing in the Septuagint. Besides, the whole verse betrays the hand of an interpolator or emendator. That the whole chapter stands in close relation to the preceding one, can be learned from verse 4, which has undergone only slight changes. Cf. LXX., which have כִּי before אִם and יֶרֶחֶן, instead of רֶחֶן; the word בָּנִי *sons* before בָּנוֹת may have originally belonged to the second part, דְּמֵי בָנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם. There can be little doubt that the prophet describes God as bringing severe punishment upon the sons and daughters of Zion. Hence (verse 2) Jehovah is made to appear in wrath, like a burning fire and a sweeping storm of destruction. The expressions, however, seemed too severe for the time of the exilic repentance, and were therefore changed. Of course verse 3, speaking of single remnants who should be distinguished as holy ones, stands now rather without connection, and likewise verse 4.
5. Here the LXX. offer the older and more correct reading וְהָיָה וְהָיָה *And*

the Lord shall come and be....; but the rest shows again the work of תקון סופרים emendation of the scribes. Instead of כל כי על read לצבי ולכבוד. Cf. with the whole, ch. xxviii., 2-6.

## V.

1. Read, with Lowth and Cheyne, שִׁירַת דָּוִדִים *Love-song*.
9. LXX. have before באוני the word וְנִגְלָה *It was revealed in the ears*, connecting it in the *status construct.* with יְהוָה. Cf., however, xxii., 14. I am inclined to read נאום "the oracle of the Lord." Geiger's explanation of it as an oath, "by the ears of the Lord" (*Urschrift*, 325), is without analogy.
12. וַיֵּין. Read לַיֵּין *to the wine* of their festive joy.
13. Instead of מִתִּי read מִזֵּי רָעַב (cf. Deut. xxxii., 24), and in place of צָחָה read צָחָה צָמָא "burnt with hunger and dried out with thirst."
- 17 belongs after 10. When the fields have become barren, then "lambs shall graze as if on their usual pasture land, and the ruins of the fat the sheep shall eat up." Instead of גְּרִים read כְּרִים *fat sheep*, in accordance with LXX.
23. מִמֶּנּוּ, read מִמֵּנֶם *from them*.
25. The end of the verse is a thrice repeated refrain in ix. and x. (cf. ix., 11 and 20; x., 4). Hence the three chapters belong together, forming one prophetic composition. Indeed, a close observation will show that viii., 21 continues the thread broken off at the end of our chapter.
26. The final ם in לְגוֹיִם is one of the many DITTOGRAPHICAL errors found in the Bible. Read לְגוֹי מִרְחֹק *to the people from afar*. Of course Assyria is referred to.
28. כֶּצֶר *like flint*. This accords with the Septuagint, כֶּצֶר. Perhaps a better reading, more analogous to כְּסוּפָה, is כְּסֶעַר *like storm*.
29. וַיִּנְהַם is taken from verse 30, and must be stricken out.
30. The words וְאִר חֶשֶׁךְ are not given in LXX., and are a gloss. Subject of the verse is no longer the hostile invader, but the people of Judea. I, therefore, believe that עֲלִי is corrupt, and ought to read עָמִי *my people*. "My people will, on that day, sigh like the roaring sea, (וַיִּבְטֹ) and look upon the land, and behold distressful darkness in the clouds." Continuation in viii., 21-23 and ix., 7-x., 4.

## VIII.

21. "And it will pass through it hard prest and hungry, and when it will be hungry and full of anger, it will curse its God and its king, and turn upwards."
22. "And again it will look upon the earth, and behold, distress and darkness of need and affliction for the fleeing one."
23. For כִּי לֹא read כִּי לֹלָא "For were there not darkness around the afflicted one, כָּעַתְּ then the first one might take the easier way of escape along the



land of Zebulun and Naphtali, and the latter might take the heavier road along the sea and the other side of the Jordan, the province of the heathen.' Galilee." Cf. my article on לָן in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 26.

## IX.

1-6 present a strange conglomeration which no hermeneutical art is able to clear up. Verse 1 is obviously a soothing balm for the affliction threatening in the preceding; but it is very doubtful whether the prophet felt like offering it in this connection. 2 goes on in the same strain. Instead of הָגִי לֹא, it has been happily suggested to read, in accordance with the Peshito, הִגִּיל the joy, corresponding to השמחה. 5 and 6 have certainly no relation either to the verses preceding or to those following. They seem to belong to ch. XI., and so probably verses 1-3 (or 4?). About the first word of verse 6, I cannot help expressing surprise that so few of the commentators have found out the plain fact that the two letters לם are simply a marginal note concerning the previous word יְשׁוּלִים. A Massortie tradition existing to the effect that where applied to God יְשׁוּלִים should be written in full (*plene*), and otherwise defectively, the scribes were at a loss whether to write it *plene* or *defectively*. This is the meaning of the two letters, which were by mistake added to the following word רָבָה.

7 connects again with ch. VIII. The word רָבַר, however, offers no sense. LXX. have θάνατον = דָּבַר (?) or מוֹת. Read חָרַב the sword.

8. וידעו is not the right word here. Lagarde suggests וַיִּגְדְּפוּ And they shall blaspheme. I would prefer וַיִּרְגְּנוּ they shall rebel, the letters being quite similar to וידעו.

10. צָרִי is certainly to be corrected into שָׂרִי the princes (cf. Ewald and others).

12. עַד הַמִּכְהוֹ. Read, with Lagarde, עֲדֵי מִכְהוֹ.

14 has been generally declared a gloss.

16. לֹא יִפְסַח is not the proper word. Lagarde suggests לֹא יִפְסַח, explaining it after Isaiah xxxi., 5, פָּסוּחַ וְהַמְלִיט = sparing and saving. I think לֹא יִחְמֹל preferable (= he spares not).

17. גִּיאֹת is correctly given by the LXX. (τῶν βουνῶν) as גִּיאֹת, sing. גִּיא = hill,—"the hills are wrapped up in smoke."

## X.

1. Read חֲקֵי אֲנִי וּמִכְתָּבִי "Woe unto those who decree decrees of falsehood and who write documents of iniquity."

3. עַל. Read אֶל.

4 is very obscure. Lagarde's conjecture בִּלְתִּי כֹרַעַת חַת אֲסִיר Beelthith (the goddess) sinks, Osiris is shaken) is more ingenious than valuable. (See also Cheyne's Comm. II., 135). I believe the verse to have been purposely altered

by the scribes, the original reading having been : מֶלֶךְ יִכְרַע תַּחַת אֲשׁוּר :  
: Thy king shall kneel under Ashur, and beneath  
his sword shall thy slain ones fall.

## VI.

Isaiah's inaugural prophecy.

1. It is a noticeable feature in Isaiah that the name יְהוָה is so often written אֲדֹנָי, which, I think, only gives proof of the frequent copying of the book by writers who were scrupulous in regard to the Holy Name.
2. Supply the word אַחֲרָיו after יֵשׁ כְּנָפַיִם the first time.
5. The last part of the verse has been purposely misplaced. Read,  
וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנָי לִי כִּי נִדְמִיתִי כִּי אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת רָאוּ עֵינַי  
11. תִּשָּׂא. Read, in accordance with LXX., תִּשָּׂא "the earth shall be left  
barren."
13. זֶרַע קִדְשׁ מִצְבָּתָהּ. These last words are missing in LXX. Are they a late addition?

## VII.

This chapter is written by a pupil of Isaiah. He is spoken of in the 3d person.

1. וְלֹא יָכֻל. Read, with LXX., וְלֹא יָכֻל, and they could not.
  2. נָחָה אֲרָם אֶל־אֵל. Read, נָחָה אֲרָם אֶל־אֵל down went Aram to Ephraim, viz., to join in warfare against Judah.
  - 3 shows the son of Isaiah, by the name of יִשׂאָר יָשׁוּב, to be already grown up, whereas, in ch. x., the name יִשׂאָר יָשׁוּב appears as a symbolic one, just given to him by the prophet. Ch. x. thus proves to be of older date than ch. vii.
  4. The words בַּחֲרֵי אֵף and רִצִּין וָאֲרָם וּבֶן רַמְלִיָּהּ are glosses, and must be stricken out. רִצִּין וָאֲרָם belong to verse 5, and offer a better reading for אֲרָם.
  6. וְנִקְיָצְנָה. Lagarde suggests to read וְנִתְצָנָה and let us set it on fire.
  - 8-9 b is a marginal note, probably belonging to verse 20. The continuation of verse 7 is verse 9 c where כִּי is to be changed into כִּי : "If you do not have faith in me, ye shall not stand fast,"—אִם לֹא תִאֱמִינוּ בִּי לֹא תִאֱמָנוּ.
  10. וְיוֹסֵף יְהוָה דָּבָר. Here the words דָּבָר אֶל יְשַׁעְיָהּ have been omitted by oversight. "And Jehovah continued saying to Isaiah, Go, speak to Ahaz."
  11. שְׂאֵלָה. Read שְׂאֵלָה unto Sheol. So many old versions and comm.
  - 13-16 belong elsewhere, connecting rather with viii., 5-10. By no means can the words of the prophet be a rejoinder to Ahaz, who had just before refused to ask for a sign. Besides, it is the whole house of David who is addressed. 21 and 22 form part of the same "Emanuel" Prophecy, while verses 17-20 and 23-25 are prophecies predicting Assyria's invasion into Judea.
- The explanatory words אֶת מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר, in 17, and בְּמֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר, in 20, are glosses and probably also 25 a, b.

## VIII.

Written by Isaiah himself.

1. בחרט אנוש is probably to be read אָנוש "sharp, deep-striking chisel."
4. יִשָּׂא. Read יִשָּׂאֵן *they will carry off*.  
The "Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz" prophecy is not given here; only in x., 6, allusion is made to it, but at a much later time.
6. רָצִין וּבֶן רַמְלִיהוּ. LXX. have הַמֶּלֶךְ עֲלֵיכֶם. I suspect the original reading was אֶת יַרְדֵּן וְאִמָּנָה. The people despise the slow waters of Siloah, and want to rejoice with Jordan and Amana, the great rivers of Samaria and Syria. The names of both kings formed originally but a marginal note, and were afterwards put into the text instead.
7. אֶת מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר וְאֵת כָּל כְּבוֹדוֹ. These words are an explanatory gloss.
8. אֶרֶץ. Read אֶרְצָם *their* (Syria's and Judea's) *land*.  
The following עֲמָנוּ אֵל connects with the following two verses, which form part of the Emanuel Prophecy (vii., 13-16), but are left in a mere fragmentary state. In their present connection they are certainly not in their right place, as the preceding and succeeding passages threaten Israel and Judah with Assur's invasion, whereas the Emanuel prophecy predicts a speedy relief from Assur.
9. רָעוּ. LXX. read דָּעוּ *know*; hardly correct. רָעוּ from רוּעַ *make noise*, viz., "Blow the war-trumpet, yet be seized with fear (וְחִתּוּ)."
- 11-20 connect with 8.
12. קֶשֶׁר... קֶשֶׁר. Read, with Lagarde and others, קָדֵשׁ, "Do not call *holy* all that this people call *holy*."
14. לַמִּקְרֶשׁ. Read לְמוֹקֵשׁ *for a snare*. The alteration is obviously an intentional one, on euphemistic grounds. Cf. LXX., which have לֹא added to לֹאבֵן נֶגֶף "and not a stumbling-block."
15. כֶּם is likewise altered. Read בֶּן *through Him*. The meaning is, "through false prophecies the people will be ensnared into ruin."
- 20 is obscure and in a fragmentary state.  
The children to whom the prophet refers in 18 are, no doubt, besides Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz, Shear-Jashub and Emanu-El. To the two former allusion is made in ch. x., 5-23.

## X.

6. וּמִטָּה הוּא בִּירָם. Read וּמִטָּה בְּיוֹם זַעְמִי *and staff on the day of my wrath*.  
7-11 have undergone considerable changes at the hand of the scribes, as can be learned from a careful comparison of our passage with the historical narrative (Isaiah xxxvi., 18 and xxxvii., 12, 13, 23, 24, and 2 Kings xviii. and xix.). Assyria's general declared his warfare to be as much against Jehovah, Israel's God, as against the people, the Deity being always identified with



the nation. This is what Isaiah is speaking against. I have no doubt the original read thus :

7. כִּי לְהַשְׁמִיד עִם וְאֱלֹהִים בְּלִבָּבוֹ וּלְהַכְרִית גּוֹיִם לֹא מַעַט (גּוֹי וּמִלְכוֹ)  
 8. כִּי יֹאמֶר הֲלֹא הַשְׁמַדְתִּי גּוֹיִם וְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם יַחְדָּיו : (וְאֱלֹהֵיו)  
 10. כֹּאֲשֶׁר מִצָּאָה יְדִי לְמַמְלַכַת הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם בֶּן אֲשֶׁמִּיד גּוֹי וְאֱלֹהִים  
 מִירוּשָׁלַם וּמִשְׁמֶרֶן :

11. הֲלֹא כֹאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לְשֶׁמֶרֶן וְלֹאֲלֵהִיָּה בֶּן אֶעֱשֶׂה לִירוּשָׁלַם וְלֹאֲלֵהִיָּה :

Translation :—" But he doth not think thus, and his heart does not reckon thus : For to destroy people and their deity is in his heart and to cut off nations not a few (nation and its king) (God).

For he says : Have I not destroyed peoples and their gods together ?

Is not Caluo as Carchemish ? Is not Chamath as Arpad ? Or is not Samaria as Damascus ?

As my hand hath reached those kingdoms and their gods, thus I shall destroy people and the deity from Jerusalem and Samaria.

Truly, as I did unto Samaria and her god, thus I shall do unto Jerusalem and her God."

These blasphemous words sounded too hard even in the mouth of the heathen, and were therefore changed ; but they present the real case only in the form restored here. And to judge from the historical narrative in the passages quoted above, they had actually been uttered thus by Rabshakeh.

12. פִּרִי. "The fruit of the high spirit of the king of Assur" is hardly correct, nor is "the glory of his haughtiness" (תִּפְאָרֶת) the object of God's visitation. Read שִׁפְתַּי *the language* and הִתְפַּאֲרוֹת *the boasting*.

13. וְעִתְדוֹתֵיהֶם. Read וּמִצֻּרוֹתֵיהֶם "and their fortresses I plunder," and instead of וְכֹאבִיר, read בְּעַפְרֵי יוֹשְׁבֵיהֶם "and I shall put down into the dust their occupants."

14. וּמִצְפָּצָף is only a variant reading for וּפּוֹצֵה פֶּה.

15. כִּי יִנִּיף שִׁבְטֵי אֶת מְרִימֵי כִי יָרִים מִטָּה לֹו-עֵץ. Read כִּהֲנִיף... לֹא עֵץ, and translate, "Shall the staff swing the one who lifts it ? Shall the rod lift him to whom the wood belongs ?"

16. יִקְרַךְ. Read יִקְרָקֶךְ, as one word (cf. גֹּאֵה-גֹּאֵה, לַחֲפֵר-פֶּרֶת, etc.).

18. Read, in accordance with the text offered by LXX., וְהָיָה כַּמָּסוֹס הַמָּסִים and it shall be as wax that melts before the fire of the flame.

19. עֵץ יַעֲרֹ is a gloss, and not given in LXX.

21. שֶׁאֵר יֵשׁוּב is also a marginal note not rendered in LXX. The rest of the verse belongs to the preceding one, and is the responding parallel, if, instead of עַל, אֵל is read,— "The rest of Jacob leans upon the mighty God." Still it is very likely that the passage before us (16-23) is rather directed against Israel and Judah than against Assyria, and connects with xxviii. Cf. 23 in

our chapter with 22 there. Particularly is this view supported by 22, here compared with xxviii., 18, 19.

22. **בו כליון**. Read **מכליון** “Even should Israel thy people be as numerous as the sand of the sea, a remnant only will return from the certain destruction, the sweeping storm of justice.” If the view expressed here be correct, the words **עץ יערו**, omitted in LXX. (verse 19), are probably only a substitute for Israel (**ישראל**). The name of Shear-Jashub was then not a sign of comfort, but a threat, a prediction of evil, and the giving of that name has, then, probably been purposely omitted.

- 24-26. Here is the continuation of the prophecy against Assur (5-15). The latter half of the verse, however, belongs after 25. Read thus, after Luzzato’s suggestion: **אל תירא עמי יושב ציון מאשור כי עוד מעט מזער וכלה ועמי** **ואפי על תבל יתם**. Translate:—

“Fear not my people, inhabitant of Zion, from Assur,  
For yet a very little while and my anger will cease,  
And my wrath against the world shall be at an end.  
He would smite thee with the rod,  
And swing his staff over thee on the road towards Egypt;  
But Yahweh Ts’bhaoth shall brandish over him a scourge,  
As at the smiting of Midian at the rock of Oreb,  
And (read **והטהו**) shall drive him toward the sea,  
And carry him on the road of Egypt.

27. **וחבל עול מפני שמן** are marginal glosses.

33. **במעצדה**. Read **במעצדה** *with the axe*.

34. **באדיר**. Read **בארזיו** *with his cedars*.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON GENESIS I., 1, and XXIV., 14.

BY REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A.,

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### 1. On the Rendering of Genesis I., 1.

"In the beginning Elohim fashioned the heaven and the earth. Now the earth was waste and wild, and darkness was upon the face of the flood, and the breath of God [a naive popular phrase for 'the divine energy'] was brooding over the face of the waters. And Elohim said, Let light be; and light was."

The first verse is the introduction to the story of creation. It was rendered necessary by the frequent adoption or retention of phraseology of mythic affinities, phraseology which needed to be guarded against misapprehension. **בְּרֵאשִׁית** has no reference to the order of the works of creation; Tuch has already referred to the Peshito version of *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, John I., 1; cf. also **מֵרֵאשִׁית** *from the beginning* (of a historical period), Isa. XLVI., 10. It has been objected to the view here taken of verse 1, that the special introductory formula of the class of narratives known as Elohistic is **אֱלֹהִים תּוֹלְדוֹת**. But we find this very formula, used retrospectively, at the end of the section (II., 4 a), for which the author doubtless had his reasons. Verse 2 is, of course, a "circumstantial clause" (*Zustand*, or *Umstandsatz*), a phrase no longer unfamiliar even to purely English readers. It describes the condition of primeval matter at the moment when Elohim said, Let light be.

Followers of Ewald will call this exposition half-hearted; there was a time when I should have done so too. There is no grammatical objection to the rendering adopted from Rashi by Ewald, "In the beginning, when Elohim made the heaven and the earth (and the earth was then a chaos), Elohim said, Let there be light." Similar constructions occur elsewhere in the simplest narratives, and particularly at the beginning of new sections; see Gen. II., 4-7; V., 1, 2; Num. V., 12-15; Josh. III., 14-16; 1 Sam. III., 2-4; 1 Kgs. VIII., 41-43; Isa. LXIV., 1-4. It is more natural, however, to make verse 1 an independent sentence. (1) The cosmogony needs a heading, and II., 4 a, would not read easily before I., 1 (where Knobel and Schrader would place it). (2) The narrative of the next section begins in the same way, with a circumstantial clause (II., 4 b, 5, 6) which is followed by the clause relating the event (II., 7, corresponding to I., 3). Those who regard the whole of II., 4, as belonging to the second narrative section will go further, and point out (3) that we thus obtain a heading for the second section exactly corresponding to I., 1. I follow K. H. Graf, whose remarks near the beginning of his paper on the so-called *Grundschrift* (*Archiv... des Alten Testaments*, 1869, p. 470) have scarcely been sufficiently attended to. It may be worth noting that Ibn Ezra, who held a view of Gen. I., 1-13, somewhat analogous to



Rashi's ("When, in the beginning, Elohim made heaven and earth, the earth was," etc.), seems to have abandoned this in his later writings. See Friedländer, *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, 1877, p. 5.

## 2. On Genesis XXIV., 14 (נַעֲרָה).

Kuobel and Dillmann (*ad loc.*) simply say, "נַעֲרָה stands in the Pentateuch for a girl, consequently instead of נַעֲרָה (here and in verses 16, 29, 55, 57; xxxiv., 3, 12; Deut. xxii., 15-29; also Ruth ii., 21.)" Delitzsch objects to the last reference, however. Lagarde considers the feminine use of נַעֲרָה as an Aramaism. Schrader (in his edition of De Wette's *Einleitung*, p. 87), considers that the use of נַעֲרָה for "a girl" is an archaism in certain passages only, while in other places it is due to the archaizing hand of an editor. Delitzsch (Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 399) remarks that "in any case נַעֲרָה = נַעֲרָה is an archaism not to be gainsaid from the point of view of the history of language. We know it simply from the existing form of the Pentateuch text; in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is removed in all the twenty-one passages. It resembles the archaism הוּא = הִיא in this respect, that we have no other ancient record which attests it. Must we not, therefore, hold that the use of הוּא for both sexes indifferently (in spite of the already existent feminine form) is not a mere invention?" However we may decide the difficult question as to the use of הוּא, I see no difficulty in assuming that נַעֲרָה is of late coinage, or at any rate that, as in Arabic parallels, the feminine form was not recognized by choicer writers. Cf. the use of "maidens" in early English for knights as well as dames.

## A NOTE ON THE RELATIVE (אֲשֶׁר).

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D. D.,

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The suggestion that אֲשֶׁר is the construct of a substantive corresponding to the Assyrian *asru* and Aramaic אַתְּרָא is not due to Dr. Hommel, as is supposed in *HEBRAICA*, April, 1885, but is to be found in Mührlau & Volck's *Hebrew Lexicon*, and had been previously made by myself in my *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872). I there supported it by the analogy of the Chinese, where *so place* has become a relative pronoun. The chief argument in its favor is this:—

The Assyrian *asru* and Aramaic 'athār imply that Hebrew also once possessed a substantive אֲשֶׁר, meaning "place," and the most probable cause which can be assigned for its apparent disappearance is that it came to be used with another signification. Prof. Brown's etymology is phonetically inadmissible. He would find it hard to produce any other instances of a "pleonastic" *r* at the end of a word either in Hebrew or in any other language where the trilled *r* is pronounced, while the prosthetic vowel in Hebrew presupposes a double consonant at the beginning of a word. The Phœnician relative pronoun אִשְׁ is אִישׁ, which is already written אִשׁ in the Siloam inscription.

## MODERN IDEAS IN HEBREW.

BY MR. W. WILLNER,

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In order to express modern ideas in the Hebrew language, three methods are employed: new forms are made from old roots, or two words expressing the idea are united, or (thirdly) the new word is transliterated. These three methods are illustrated in the words used for the implements, etc., of smoking; "to smoke" is עָשַׁן, a Pī'el formation from the noun עָשָׁן *smoke*; "tobacco" is טַאבַּאק (Tă'bbă'q); "tobacco-pipe" is מַעֲלֵה עָשָׁן *raiser of smoke*.

To the first method belongs also the specialization of meanings. Thus, in the Talmud P'sāhîm, 37 a, we find דְּפוּס (Greek τύπος) in the meaning of "form;" this has, in modern Hebrew, been specialized to mean "printer's form," hence "the art of printing," and, finally, "printing establishment." This forms a Nīph'al דִּפְסָה *it was printed*, a Hiph'il הִדְפִּים *he has printed*, and from this a Participle מְדַפֵּס *a printer*. The "veredarius" of the Romans, בֶּרֶדְנָאָר, corrupted into בֵּי־דָאָר, gives us the word for "post-office."

As a model for the union of two words, the European languages are often followed. Thus we have מַסְלִיל בְּרִזֵּל (German *Eisenbahn*) *railroad*; יַיִן שָׂרָף (German *Branntwein*) *brandy*; מִכְתָּב־עַת (German *Zeitschrift*) *newspaper, magazine*. In other ideas, the combination is original, often curiously formed; thus כַּף פְּרוּר (pot-spoon) *pot-ladle*, מוֹצִיא לָאוֹר (bringer-forth to light) *publisher, editor*; סֵדֵר אוֹתִיּוֹת (Pī'el from סָדַר *to arrange letters*) *to set type, a compositor*; אֶבֶק־אֵשׁ (fire-dust) *gunpowder*; קֶנֶה שֹׂרֶפֶה (burning-rod) *fire-arm*.

Words which have one form for all the modern languages, as the most recent inventions, or the latest investigated maladies, are transliterated. It formerly was the fashion to do this in such a manner that the resulting form should be two Hebrew words expressing about the same idea; as a result, we still have חוֹל־יָרֵעַ (a bad sickness) for "cholera," and the *Hammagid*, a Hebrew weekly published in Lyk, Prussia, calls the "telegraph" דִּלּוּג־רַב (great leaper). But the best and most accepted way is to transliterate these words, as טֵלֵעֶגְרָפָה (which, by the way, can be regularly conjugated, טֵלֵיגְרָפְתָּם, טֵלֵיגְרָפּוּ), likewise טֵלֵעֶפּוֹן (telephone) (dynamite), etc. Often the Arabic method is followed, and we have both קַהוּה and קַאווֶה for "coffee;" טֵי, טֵיִי and טֵהֶעֶע for "tea." נוֹמַאנִיָּא or פְּנִימָא would perhaps be used for "pneumonia."



## SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A MORE EXACT NOMENCLATURE AND DEFINITION OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

BY PROFESSOR WM. G. BALLANTINE, D. D.,

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With the recent translations of the works of Ewald and Müller on general Hebrew syntax, and the excellent monograph of Professor Driver on the Use of the Tenses, the beginner cannot complain of lack of efficient help at the most difficult point of the language. Still it must be confessed that the subject has not yet been wholly freed from perplexity, and that portions of it are still enveloped in that "luminous haze" which Ewald so often substituted for dry light. We venture, therefore, with much diffidence, to offer for the criticism of scholars a tentative scheme of nomenclature and definition of the Hebrew Tenses, with some remarks in explanation. We would present the doctrine of the tenses to the beginner in Hebrew grammar somewhat as follows :

There are in Hebrew two tenses, the *Aorist* and the *Subsequent*.

I. The Aorist Tense expresses the mere predication of a fact. It asserts the occurrence of the action signified by the verb, without connotation of the time of that occurrence.

1. But since most facts are now past, the proper translation of this tense in English will oftenest be our Preterite; e. g., כָּרָא אֱלֹהִים *God created*, Gen. i., 1.

2. Very frequently the translation will be our Perfect; e. g., נָתַתִּי *I have given*, Gen. i., 29.

3. Occasionally the translation will be our Pluperfect; e. g., אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *which he had made*, Gen. ii., 2.

4. When the verb signifies an action or state likely to be present, the presumption is that the speaker refers to the present. The translation then is our Present; e. g., לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not*, Gen. iv., 9; יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ *Jehovah reigns*, Ps. xciii., 1. (But the context may show that the past is meant, and then the same verbal forms must be rendered by Preterites, etc.)

5. General truths are expressed by the Aorist, and rendered by the English Present; e. g., יִבֶּשׂ חֲצִיר *the grass withereth*, Isa. xl., 7.

6. When a future occurrence is regarded as so certain that it may be predicated as a fact, the Hebrew uses the Aorist, but the English translation may require the Future or Present; e. g., מְכַרָּה נָעֲמִי *Naomi selleth*, Ruth iv., 3.

7. The Aorist may be used where the most precise English expression is the Future Perfect; e. g., עַד עֵת יֵלְדָה *until she shall have borne*, Mic. v., 2.

II. The Subsequent Tense connotes the act predicated as following upon or arising out of a known act or situation of affairs.

1. In independent sentences the act will oftenest be understood to be subsequent to the speaker's present, i. e., future. In such sentences it is exactly rendered by the English Future; e. g., **יְמִשֶׁלְּךָ** *he shall rule over thee*, Gen. III., 16.

2. Often, however, the action must be understood to supervene immediately upon the existing situation. The Subsequent Tense is then a vivid Present, and must be rendered by the English Present; e. g., **יִשָּׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת** *the floods lift up*, Ps. xciii., 3.

3. When by means of the adverbs of time or place **אָז**, **טָרַם**, **מִשָּׁם**, or in any other manner, a date, starting point, or scene of action, has been indicated, the Subsequent Tense connotes the action as following after or occurring upon such point or scene; e. g., **טָרַם יְהִיה** *it was not yet*, Gen. II., 5; **מִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד** *from thence it was parted*, Gen. II., 10; **יוֹם אָנֹכִי** *the day I was born*, Job III., 3. The proper translation here will often be one of the English past tenses.

4. From the idea of supervention, the transition is easy to that of liability to occur, and thus to repetition. Accordingly, the Subsequent Tense is used in predicating customary actions; e. g., **אֵרָא יַעֲלֶה** *a mist used to go up*, Gen. II., 6.

5. By a very natural extension the Subsequent Tense is employed to express the Subjunctive Mood, and also the Optative and Potential. It is thus used in wishes, permissions and commands; e. g., **יְהִי אֹר** *let there be light*, Gen. I., 3.

### III. The Tenses with Waw Conversive.

1. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding predication (or idea), the Subsequent Tense connotes an action as supervenient upon or arising out of that foregoing action.

2. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding Subsequent Tense (or idea), the Aorist falls into the temporal and modal limitations of that foregoing predication.

In justification of this scheme, and upon the subject in general, we make the following somewhat disjointed remarks, or rather memoranda:

1. This is but a sketch. Many important usages are not mentioned; but we think that they may be appropriately classed under the several heads and definitions.

2. The old names of the tenses—*past* and *future*—were after all nearer to the truth than *perfect* and *imperfect*. The Subsequent is a future, only future to any assigned date, not merely to the speaker's present. The name Aorist exactly fits that Hebrew tense. In Greek the Aorist Indicative is *limited* to the past; but in Hebrew the Aorist is truly unlimited except by the possibilities of reality.

3. The application of the term *moods* to the Hebrew tenses is an abuse of a useful word of fixed meaning, as necessary in that meaning to Hebrew grammar as to any grammar. The distinction of the two Hebrew forms is a true *tense* distinction.

4. The Perfect is often defined as connoting "finished" or "completed" action. These words are misleading. They can only fairly be used to mean action viewed comprehensively, as in the Greek Aorist, not *now* completed, as in the Greek Perfect.

5. The grammarians have great difficulty with the numerous cases in which the Hebrew Perfect must be rendered as equivalent to an English Present. They explain that the *consequences* of the finished act continue to the present. But making the most of such classic parallels as *oída* and *memini*, the explanation fails for a host of cases; e. g., קטַנְתִּי *I am little*, Gen. xxxii., 11.

6. It is a mistaken analogy to compare the Hebrew Perfect, when used in general truths, with the Greek Gnomic Aorist. In Greek there is a reference to past experience. In Hebrew there is no evidence of such a reference.

7. The difference between the Hebrew Aorist and Subsequent is not at all the same as that between the Greek Aorist and Imperfect. Only incidentally, by the extension of the usage of the Hebrew tense to connote customary acts, does that language reach the power to express the distinction.

8. It appears a confusion to define a tense as *inceptive*, and then name it the *Imperfect*. An Inceptive Imperfect which expresses the *future* is a grammatical jumble.

9. We believe that all that Ewald and Driver so laboriously set forth regarding "incipiency," "nascency" and "progressive continuance," may be fairly reduced to the simple idea of *subsequence*.

10. It appears that the *conversion* after strong Waw is rather of the English translation. The Subsequent is by strong Waw only made more distinctly subsequent to the preceding verb, and the Aorist falls under the limitations already expressed.



## ✧EDITORIAL✧NOTES.✧

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**The Second Volume.**—With this number *HEBRAICA* enters upon its second volume. The variety and value of the material furnished ought, we think, to commend the Journal to all who are interested in Semitic studies.

We venture the assertion that no single Semitic publication of the same size has ever contained contributions from so many representative Semitic scholars. There is something encouraging in this. It means that Semitic scholars are at work, and that they are interested in an undertaking whose purpose it is to incite others to work.

When it seemed doubtful whether another volume of *HEBRAICA* would be published, many letters were received in which the strong hope was expressed that it might be continued. The managing editor, after much debate, concluded to undertake the second volume. And now, will not those who declared themselves interested in its success lend a hand in making it such? What is needed? About four hundred additional subscribers. Is there not something which all who have at heart the interests of Hebrew study can and *will* do to secure these subscribers? The Journal will improve with each succeeding number, if its friends will but help and encourage it. *Now* is the time. The fact is, it is *now* or *never*. Shall it not be *now*?

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**Proof-reading.**—The readers of *HEBRAICA* cannot but be aware of the extreme difficulty attending the setting up of the type and the reading of the proof of the articles and notes which make up each number. In the present number there will be found, for example, words, sentences, or paragraphs in ten different languages, in five different alphabets, in which there are used ten distinct fonts of type. For use in transliteration there are, besides these, numerous special letters. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if occasionally there shall be discovered slight errors. Yet, according to the testimony of those who are able to judge of such matters, the Journal has been singularly free from typographical errors. This is due, in large measure, to the efficient help rendered by the Rev. John W. Payne, of which the Editor takes this opportunity of making a public acknowledgment.

As the Journal becomes older and better established, and as the facilities for work are improved, it is hoped that, so far as mechanical execution is concerned, it may be made more and more perfect.

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**An Important Help for the Study of Assyrian.**—Semitic students will be interested in the publication of an *Assyrian Manual*, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, which, but for an unavoidable delay, would now be ready. Of the

importance of the Assyrian language for the Semitic study, and especially for the study of the Old Testament, words too strong could scarcely be employed. But the difficulties in the way have been until recently well-nigh insurmountable. Until the authorities of Union Theological Seminary, of Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities and the Episcopal Seminary in Philadelphia, made it possible to pursue the study at those institutions, one was forced to go abroad in order to learn Assyrian. The great expense, and other difficulties, left the privilege to but few. Happily, now a rapid change is taking place. The institutions above named, and the list will be enlarged yearly, offer facilities not inferior to those found at the German universities. But there are many eager American students so situated that they cannot attend the American schools. What are these to do? Many of them finished their college, seminary, or university courses before Assyrian study came to the front. They are now active teachers and pastors.

For such persons several courses are possible. If familiar with the German language, they can use Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestuecke*, of which a third and greatly improved edition has recently appeared. This book contains a short lexicon of the most common Assyrian words, two pages of transliterated text, with translation and notes, and should by all means be the constant companion of every student of the language. The fact that it is written in German will unfortunately close its pages for some, and others will find the way hardly sufficiently prepared. While the whole work is intended to be elementary, experience in America has shown that a better method may be employed. Every Assyrian text-book for beginners must aim to reach the same goal that Professor Delitzsch has in view. The question is, Can it be reached by shorter, and easier methods?

The answer to this question, it is confidently believed, will be found in Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*. The fundamental idea in this work is that the language is to be acquired, not by first burdening the memory with the cuneiform characters, but by a large use of transliterated texts. The tests which have been made at Harvard University, and in the Hebrew Summer Schools, have demonstrated the value of this idea. It will be argued that one who learns the language by the aid of transliterated texts can never be sure of the correctness of the transliteration. Be it so. There are scores of intelligent pastors who cannot hope to become Assyrian workers, but who wish to be able to form an opinion on the utterances of those who are. There are teachers of Hebrew who can learn, for comparative purposes, all that is known of Assyrian grammar and vocabulary without committing the cuneiform signs to memory. It cannot be too often urged that the Assyrian language, like all language, lies in the sound, not in the signs representing those sounds.

But while Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual* makes it possible to learn the language without learning the written characters, the method does not contem

plate such a course. A nearly complete list of the syllabic characters (several hundred in number) is given, and also several pages of cuneiform text accompanied by transliteration and translation, and still others accompanied by neither. The student should first take the transliterated passage which is translated, and master it. He can also set himself a daily task of a few signs to be learned, and can practice what he thus daily learns, and what he learns from the transliterated passage, by turning to the cuneiform original of that passage. With or without this work on the original signs, all the other transliterated passages, filling forty-one pages, are open to him. These are almost exclusively from the historical records of Tiglathpileser I., Assurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, Nabonidus and Cyrus. The originals of nearly all these passages are easily accessible. There is no better way of learning the cuneiform signs than by reading the originals in connection with a transliteration. By such a course there is not a three-fold effort of the mind, first to recall the sign, second to decide on its connection, and then to discover the meaning of the word; but the whole effort may be directed to the task of impressing on the mind those signs not already familiar. Many of these selections in the *Manual*, in addition to their linguistic value, are of the greatest historical and religious interest. The passages in cuneiform are from Assurbanipal's Egyptian wars, from the Babylonian story of the deluge, from Ishtar's descent to Hades, and from the account of creation.

The *Assyrian Manual* will also contain the necessary grammatical paradigms, notes on the reading selections, and a glossary of all the Assyrian words. It is believed that the book will thus be so furnished as to meet the needs of beginners in the language, and to ease very greatly their task.

While the teacher's place can never be filled by any book, it is believed that those who wish to know Assyrian, but who cannot have a teacher, will find in the method of the *Assyrian Manual* that the greatest difficulty is removed.

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**Other Semitic Helps.**—The announcement, elsewhere, of an Arabic Manual by Prof. John G. Lansing, D. D., of New Brunswick, N. J., and of a Syriac Manual by Prof. R. D. Wilson of Allegheny City, Pa., will be of interest to all Semitic students. The plan of these books agrees in general with that of the *Assyrian Manual* spoken of above. One great reason why there have been so few American students to engage in these studies is the fact that there have been no practical text-books for beginners. The series, now proposed, including Prof. Charles R. Brown's Aramaic Method, of which the second part is soon to appear, will supply a want experienced by many, and, at the same time, incite others to undertake similar work.



## ❖BOOK❖NOTICES.❖

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[Any publication noticed in these pages may be obtained of the AMERICAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF HEBREW, Morgan Park, Ill.]

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### DR. SOCIN'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.\*

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This is a new edition of Petermann's Elementary Arabic Grammar, brought out by Dr. Socin, translated into English by Drs. Stenhouse and Brünnow, formerly pupils of Dr. Socin.

There is great need for a new Arabic Grammar, but there is no need for such an Arabic Grammar as this one. There is great need for an Arabic Grammar midway between Wright, Palmer, and others, on the one hand, and Faris, Bagster, and others, on the other hand; a Grammar clear, concise, sufficient, without taking the place of Wright's, and without degenerating to the other extreme. To meet this need, Dr. Socin's Grammar is largely a failure, because of its confusions, omissions, and errors.

It would be a difficult task to enumerate the faults which appear on many pages of this Grammar. A few specimens may be given.

Dr. Socin tells us that *waw* is pronounced as *alif* in the word <sup>س</sup>حَبِوة and a few other words, excepting when these words have suffixes. This is not the only exception. There are only two other words where the *waw* is pronounced as *alif*. Why were they not given?

In speaking of the elision of connective *alif* under the orthographic sign *Wasla*, Dr. Socin speaks of this elision as taking place with the article and with two words, the words for "son" and "name." Two of the most important places in which this elision occurs are never mentioned. Besides, instead of there being only two words, there are nine words, or rather nouns, in connection with which this elision takes place.

Dr. Socin speaks of long and short syllables, instead of pure and mixed syllables with long and short vowels, etc. He says, "A short syllable consists of a consonant with a short vowel." And "A long syllable of a consonant and a long vowel," etc. That is not a definition of the Arabic syllable. Both of the above cases are included under the pure syllables; while the mixed syllables include the diphthong, and that composed of two consonants when the closing consonant has *sukoon* or *tashdeed*.

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\* ARABIC GRAMMAR, PARADIGMS, LITERATURE, CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY. By Dr. A. Socin, Professor in the University of Tuebingen. Carlsruhe and Leipzig: H. Reuther. Pp. xvi, 294. Price, \$2.60.

Dr. Socin leaves the three short vowels,—of such great importance in the language,—with a bare mention. He has almost nothing to say about the peculiarities of the letters. He has nothing to say about the Pause. He does not treat of the Article at all. A person would not know there was any Article except as it is incidentally mentioned. Dr. Socin writes the dual of the Relative Pronoun defectively, when only the singular and the masculine plural are written defectively, on account of their frequent occurrence.

He classifies <sup>אֵי</sup>אֵי as a relative pronoun, when it is an interrogative pronoun; and he declines the interrogative <sup>מֶן</sup>מֶן, which is rarely declined, while the interrogative <sup>אֵי</sup>אֵי, which is declined, he leaves undeclined.

Under the Particles Dr. Socin treats of the Adverbs, Prepositions and Conjunctions. To all this he devotes two small scant pages. He tells us nothing about the kinds of prepositions and adverbs, nothing about their formation, does not give a single definition. He only gives one or two examples of each, and then leaves the subject. Even the examples he gives contain errors. For example, he classifies <sup>אֵן</sup>אֵן and <sup>אֵן</sup>אֵן as prepositions, and translates <sup>אֵל</sup>אֵל “against.”

As to Interjections, Dr. Socin does not seem to be aware that there are any, as they are entirely left out of his Grammar.

The mistakes and omissions upon the Verb are numerous. Only two or three can be noted. He says that the second stem or form of the Verb most usually denotes the causative; whereas the causative signification comes from the intensive, which is the primary and radical signification. He says that the sixth stem or form is reflexive of the third, and that it has a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, e. g., <sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ</sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ to fight one another. This is a mistake. The idea of reciprocity conveyed in the third form, is, in this sixth form, necessarily limited to one of the two parties concerned; so that, if it is said of one <sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ</sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ he fought, the other party to such reciprocal action will become <sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ</sup>נִקְחָלֵךְ fought against; so that the former will have an active sense, while the latter will be passive, but passive only as it is consequent upon the former. Between the seventh and eighth forms Dr. Socin makes no radical difference whatever. But there is such difference: the reflexive pronoun contained in the seventh form is never the indirect, but always the direct object itself, and it never assumes the reciprocal signification. These two points distinguish the seventh form from the eighth. The explanation of the formation of derived forms, moods, etc., is most unsatisfactory and confusing even when touched upon. The treatment of the Weak Verb is the most unsatisfactory part of the Grammar. Several different kinds of weak verbs are never mentioned at all.

The treatment of the Noun is little better than that of the Weak Verb. We are told that nouns are primitive and derived. But he does not tell us whence or how they are derived, and almost nothing about their formation. Some classes of nouns are given; nothing is said of others which come in the same category.

He forms the broken plural of <sup>غُصْنٌ</sup> a branch upon the measure of <sup>فَعْلَةٌ</sup> when it should be upon the measure of <sup>فَعْلَةٍ</sup>.

There are numerous errors of translation, as, e. g., <sup>عَنْ</sup> translated "away from;" <sup>حَبَامٌ</sup> translated "a flight of doves."

There are numerous typographical errors, as, e. g., three in a paragraph of two and a half lines.

The omissions are as startling as they are numerous. Two or three definitions, rules, classes, etc., will be given, while others of the same character and equally important will be left out altogether. Conjectural remarks of no practical use to the learner are frequently indulged in, while first essentials are found omitted from almost every page.

As to arrangement the Grammar is confusion worse confounded. A more difficult grammar for the learner, on account of the absence of any system, could scarcely be found in any language.

The Grammar proper numbers about 125 pages. The book numbers over 300 pages. In a volume of half its size it is believed that more material of practical value could have been furnished.

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### THIRD EDITION OF DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE.\*

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This book, in its new form, is a great advance on ed. 2, 1878 (ed. 1, 1876). The progress is less in the matter of correction than of addition. The new syllabic values of the signs are comparatively few; but a large number of ideographic values has been added. Nearly all the material of ed. 2 is retained, except the Eponym Canons, which filled pp. 87-94 of that edition. Of additions are three pages of grammatical paradigms, Sennacherib's campaign against Judea transliterated, translated and explained (five pages), the Babylonian equivalents of the signs placed beside the Assyrian form, eleven pages of cuneiform vocabularies (80-90), the cuneiform account of the Deluge (pp. 99-109) of which ed. 2 contained a part, a historical text from Nebuchadnezzar and one from Darius (123-125), a bilingual vocabulary in three columns (126-130) and a dictionary of the most common Assyrian words (137-148), the words being transliterated and the definitions being in German. Beginners will thank the author most for pp. IX-XVI (grammar, transliteration, etc.) and for the dictionary. Other students will thank him most for the full text of the Deluge story and for the convenient collection of additions to syllabaries and vocabularies.

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\*ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE, nach den Originalen theils revidirt, theils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, nebst Paradigmen, Schrifttafel, Textanalyse und kleinern Woerterbuch, zum Selbstunterricht wie zum akademischen Gebrauch, von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Professor der Assyriologie an der Universitaet Leipzig. Dritte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1885. Pp. xvi, 148. Price, 35 Marks.



Of typographical errors may be mentioned p. xvi, note to line 72, where one must read 9 for g in II R. 23, g; p. 137, êtû for êtû; p. 140, iĥîĥ for iĥîĥ; p. 147, šikṣu for šikṣu; p. 148, takânu for takânu. On p. 14, no. 100, the syllabic value ta, in col. 3, has been omitted.

What ed. 2 called the Babylonian account of the fall of man, ed. 3 calls Texts about the serpent Tiâmat. This is an improvement. The Babylonians may have had an account of the fall of man; but if so, it still awaits discovery.

Professor Delitzsch is to be congratulated on the great usefulness of past editions of the *Lesestücke*, and on having made edition 3 more indispensable than its predecessors. The book belongs to every Assyrian library.

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